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EVER PAID BY A NEW LITERATURE TO AN OLD,

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ENRICHES AS TO THAT WHOSE TIME-TRIED TRIUMPHS

IT WORTHILY RECORDS,

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IS, BY PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY

DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

IN introducing a new Work to the Public, it is expected that some account should be given of its inception, design, scope, and prosecution.

Whilst delivering a course of lectures two years since in Providence, on Mediæval History, I found no geographical work in English Literature, illustrating that period to which I could refer. This want suggested the present work.

The Geography of the *Ancient* World presents no such deficiency, having been elucidated since the seventeenth century by the master-minds of Cellarius, Cluverius, Danville, and still more recently by Rennel, Mannert, Heeren, Uckert, and others. Much light has also been thrown on the remote ages of civilization by the late philological discoveries in Egypt and Persia, and the excavations of Nineveh.

Yet the no less important period of the Middle Ages, though so thoroughly investigated by the modern Historian, has still remained comparatively neglected by the Geographer.

Mediæval Atlases have been published by C. Kruse (translated into French by Felix Ansart) and by Charles

Spruner; but these being defective in letter-press, containing only scanty notes, and mere dry, historical tables, leave the student to depend on his own resources in the explanation of the maps.

Thus no general comprehensive Geography, embracing the mediæval times down to the close of the fifteenth century, has yet appeared to supply the want which must be felt by every student of Gibbon, Hallam, Sismondi, Guizot, and the other numerous writers treating of that era.

It occurred to me, therefore, that my collectanea, made during my long residence in Italy and Greece, together with my notes of travel in the East—partly embodied in my Providence Lectures—might furnish me with ample materials for the composition of a work which would supply, at least in part, the wants of the student of Mediæval History.

Having met with encouragement from my publishers, the idea has been carried out, and I now offer to the public the "*World in the Middle Ages*"

I have attempted to present an accurate geographical description of the world during the different periods of time from the ultimate division of the Roman Empire at the death of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 395, down to the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in the East, and the discovery of America in the West.

That the dry details of Geography might not become tedious, I have occasionally introduced personal sketches, and notices of mediæval institutions, with side-glances at the religions, languages, and literatures of the different nations.

I have endeavored likewise to give that prominence

to the Scandinavians, the Sclavonians, Tartars, and other Eastern tribes which their important influence on history demands; but which hitherto has been denied them.

In the Geography of Ecclesiastical History, I have followed Rev. John E. Wiltsch. I have entered into more than usual detail on the Byzantine Empire, Greece, and the Eastern States, both with the hope of illustrating the brilliant pages of Gibbon and the Chroniclers of the Crusades; and in view of the important part which these Countries are about to act in the present crisis that seems to threaten the entire political system of Europe.

I am indebted for the selection of my maps, to Professor George W. Greene's translation of Dr. Spruner's great Historical Atlas.

For my authorities, I refer the reader to the footnotes, and the list of authors on the closing page of the Work. I have also carefully compiled Historical and Geographical Indices, referring to the number of the paragraph in every instance where the name occurs.

I would ask the kind forbearance of the Public with regard to some occasional foreign expressions or turns of thought, which possibly may betray the author as a Dane.

If this, my first attempt in the field of Historical Geography, should be favorably received by the Public, I might perhaps find myself emboldened to undertake the still more arduous task of preparing an Historical Geography of the *Modern World*, uniform with the present.

This would embrace, not only the geographical changes and political revolutions of modern Europe

during the last three centuries, but likewise the highly important Colonial Geography of Asia, Africa, and America. Especial attention would then be devoted to the rise, progress, emancipation, and gigantic development of the Republic of the United States.

The materials for such an undertaking are in part collected, the plan laid down, the maps selected, and I only await the encouragement of the Literary Republic to carry my ideas into execution.

THE AUTHOR.

Franklin and Marshall College,
LANCASTER, PA., *April* 11*th*, 1854.

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS ON MEDIEVAL GEOGRAPHY; THE GREAT HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS OF THAT PERIOD.

1. General Remarks.—The Middle Age is the period during which nearly all the states, at the present day figuring on the world's stage, had their origin and development. The study of the political geography of those times, is therefore of the highest importance to the student of universal history, in order that he may fully understand and bring before his mind's eye, as it were, the feudal institutions and divisions, the relations of the nations to one another, and the successive changes by revolutions and conquests which took place in every part of the old world. But the details of such an historical geography, in which we should attempt to follow up every temporary change, extension or diminution of territory, in the single states and nations, would not only be immense and difficult to combine, but we would often be in want of the necessary materials. From the chroniclers of those remote times, we obtain but scanty and very imperfect information;

they were themselves deficient in the most simple geographical knowledge; the few data, which they furnish here and there, are often erroneous or uncertain, mostly full of wonders and superstitions from the hearsay repetitions of credulous travellers, pilgrims or crusaders. Sometimes their reports disagree with the physical geography of the countries, or are contradicted by the relations of other writers of the same time.

We shall therefore limit our manual of medieval geography, to a general description of the political position of Europe, and the adjacent parts of western Asia and northern Africa, during eight of the most important periods of universal history, between the fourth and the sixteenth centuries, which are illustrated by the annexed six general historical maps.

2. General Division of Medieval Geography.

Period I.—The political geography of the *Roman Empire*, after its final division in eastern and western Rome, between the emperors Arcadius and Honorius in A. D. 395. It exhibits, likewise, the geographical and ethnographical position of all the different *Barbarian* nations of the north and east, towards the close of the fourth century, immediately before the beginning of the great migration, the successive development of which forms, as it were, the separate periods of medieval geography.

Period II.—The political geography of Europe and the adjacent parts of Asia and Africa at the beginning of the sixth century, *before the accession of Justinian I. in* A. D. 527. It presents the results of the first period of the great migration of the northern nations, and their settlements in the provinces of the then no longer existing western Roman empire.

Period III.—The political geography of Europe towards the close of the sixth century, after *the conquest of* central Europe by *the Avars*, and of Italy by *the Lombards*, forming the termination of the second period of the great migrations from the north and the east.

Period IV.—The political geography of Europe, western

and central Asia, and northern Africa, at the beginning of the ninth century during the *reign of Charlemagne*, and the highest development of the *Saracenic Empire* under the Abbasid Caliphs of Bagdad and the Ommiyad Emirs of Cordova.

PERIOD V.—The political geography of all the states in Europe, western Asia and northern Africa, *at the death of the Emperor Otho the Great*, about A. D. 973, at the time of the final constitution and consolidation of nearly all the great European states, which later take a prominent part in the political events of Europe.

PERIOD VI.—The political geography of the old world, during *the times of the Crusades*, from the close of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

PERIOD VII.—The political geography of Europe and Asia towards the close of the fourteenth century, at the time of the feudal wars between the *English* and *French Crowns*, the progress of the *Ottoman Turks*, and the widest extent of the Mongol empire of *Tamerlane*.

PERIOD VIII.—The political geography of Europe and western Asia towards the close of the fifteenth century, after the destruction of *the Byzantine Empire* in A. D. 1453, the reorganization of the *German Empire* by *Maximilian*, the extinction of the *Moorish Kingdom of Granada* and the discovery of *America* in A. D. 1492.

These eight general periods are delineated in the accompanying Atlas of six historical maps. The 1st and 2d Periods are each represented in their proper maps. The 3d Period embraces the second and the third maps. The 4th, 5th, and 6th Periods have each their own maps, while for the last two Periods, the 7th and 8th, one general map, illustrating the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was thought sufficient.

In order to facilitate the general survey, and the comparison of one map with another, we have carefully given the *same*

color to all the leading nations in the different succeeding periods. Thus, for instance, the student will find *crimson* throughout all the maps for the Greek or Byzantine empire; *yellow* for all the Germanic and Scandinavian nations; *violet* as a general color for the Slavic or Sclavonian tribes; *dark green* for the Chudish or Finnish races; *blue* for the Saracens or Arabs; *sea green* for the Huns; *orange* for the Chazars, and *minium red* for their Tartar brothers, the Turks. Similar modifications of color go through all the maps to indicate the subdivisions of Britons, Scots, Picts, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Swedes, and others. In the single maps will be found only those divisions, cities, battle-fields, &c., which belong to the period reviewed; a few names have unhappily been left out, either by the inattention of the draughtsman, or the want of space, but they will be mentioned, and their position fixed in the text of our manual. Only the most important mountain chains, dividing the countries, have been given, because the complete detail of physical geography would have rendered the names less distinct on maps of so small a scale, and the student is therefore requested to compare our historical maps with some accurate maps of the common modern geography. Finally, we have been particularly careful to give the ancient Greek, Roman, Arabic or Barbaric names of countries, cities, mountains, rivers, exactly as they were used at the time, with their modern name, affixed, and to follow up the progressing changes faithfully, during every period of the middle ages, in order to accustom the attentive student to the gradual formation of so many names, the etymology of which, would otherwise be difficult to understand. For the same reason we have attempted to enliven our geographical survey by some few characteristic sketches of the different nationalities, Scandinavian, Sclavonian, and others, and we have paid the most careful attention to the chronological accuracy of the dates given, that our essay on political geography might serve at the same time, the purposes of *an historical Guide* through the maze of the middle ages.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY UNDER ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.

THE WORLD OF THE BARBARIANS.

ITS GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS BEFORE THE GREAT INVASION, A. D. 376.

I. THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

3. LIMITS.—We present in this map the extent of the Roman empire in the course of the fourth century. At the death of Theodosius, in the year 395 of our era, it still had nearly the same frontiers as under Augustus, about 14 B. C. The conquests of Trajan, between A. D. 103–116, extended the empire beyond the Danube by the subjection of *Dacia* (the present Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia). In the east the Romans had taken possession of the northern part of *Media*, *Armenia*, all *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Arabia Petræa*, and they had commercial establishments and garrisons along the Red Sea, as far as *Muza* (Mocha), and *Athana* (Aden), on the Arabian coast. Yet these brilliant acquisitions were already given up by the peaceable Hadrian; and the Syrian desert, the Euphrates, the upper Tigris, Mount Taurus, and Mount Caucasus remained henceforth the farthest eastern frontier of the empire, against the Parthians and New Persians. Thus the events of the time had proved the wisdom of Theodosius, who gave the prudent advice to his successors never to exceed those limits, which it seemed that nature herself had assigned for the Roman sway:—on the north they were Mount Caucasus, the

Pontus Euxinus or Black Sea, the Danube, the Rhine, the North Sea, and, in the island of Britain, the *wall of Hadrian* —the Picts' wall—extending from the Tyne across to the bay of Solway, near Carlisle. The waves of the Atlantic secured the west, and the burning sands of the great Libyan desert, the southern borders of the empire. But these immense frontier-lines had already been invaded by the Barbarians in the north; a great part of Gaul lay in ruins, and we shall, in another place, indicate the settlements which the warlike tribes had obtained within the bosom of the empire itself.

4. Division.—At an earlier period the Roman state had been divided into *Senatorial* and *Imperial* provinces. With Diocletian, in A. D. 285, begins the times of divisions: first, into tetrarchies, then, under Constantine, into dioceses, with different modifications, until, at the decease of Theodosius, the final separation into an *Eastern* and *Western* empire becomes definitive, and continues (50) until the overthrow of western Rome, in A. D. 476.

5. Subdivisions.—Each of the two empires was divided into *Præfectures*, governed by prætorial præfects nominated by the emperor. Every one of these præfectures was again subdivided into dioceses—*diœceses*—under vicars—*vicarii*—or vice-præfects, who received their orders from the præfects. The dioceses had again their provinces—*provinciæ*—and their regions —*regiones*—all according to their importance or position, and were ruled by proconsuls, consulars, presidents or correctors. Constantinople and Rome were the capitals; but they enjoyed the privilege of being excluded from the provincial division, and had their own peculiar administration and governor, who, under the name of city-præfect—*præfectus urbis*—enjoyed a power similar, at least, to that of the prætorial præfects. In all the frontier provinces and garrisoned towns, there were, besides, military commanders, called counts—*comites*—and dukes—*duces*—at the head of the troops.

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

6. LIMITS.—It was separated from the western empire in Europe, by the rivers *Drinus* (now the black Drin), a tributary of the Save in Mœsia and by the *Barbana* (now Bojana) which discharges itself in the lake *Labeatis* (now of Scutari or Scodra); in Africa, by the great Syrtis and the deserts, extending southward into the interior. On the north side of the Pontus Euxinus, the southern coast of the *Chersonesus Taurica* (now the Crimea), with the towns of *Cherson* (now Sevastopol) and *Theodosia* (now Caffa), belonged likewise to the eastern empire.

7. CAPITAL.—CONSTANTINOPLE, founded by Constantine in 330, on the site of Byzantium, in antiquity, a rich and flourishing town, which, however, during the civil wars between Severus and Gallienus, in A. D. 196, had suffered a great desolation. The particular advantage and beauty of its situation, on a projecting triangle, formed by the Bosphorus, the Propontis, and the magnificent gulf or harbor of the Golden Horn, were so great, the communication by water with Asia, Africa, and Europe, so easy, its strong central position so defensible, the environs so fertile, and the climate so mild and healthy (41° 1′ 10″ northern latitude), that Constantine could not have made a better choice for his new *Christian* capital, and might well consider it as a divine inspiration. Constantinople was built entirely after the model of Rome, and called New Rome in the beginning. Its circumference was sixteen miles, but the walls were afterwards extended on the west,[1] embracing, like Rome, seven hills and fourteen regions, of which the

[1] The wall of Theodosius II. was constructed in the year 413. It embraced the Hebdomon or seventh hill, with the old palace of Constantine still standing in its ruins. The suburb of Blachernæ, on the northwestern angle, was taken into the city walls by Heraclius, in 620, and strongly fortified with towers and ditches by Leo, the Armenian, during the Bulgarian war, in 815.

thirteenth, that of *Sykena* (Pera and Galata), lay beyond the Golden Horn—τὸ Κέρας, Χρυσοκέρας. The harbor was shut by a chain, behind which lay a line of battle-ships for defence. The strong walls, the towers, and the castles on the three angles of the city, ἡ Ἀκρόπολις, τὸ Κυκλώβιον or Ἑπταπύργιον, and αἱ Βλαχέρναι were considered impregnable. A broad avenue—ἡ μέση—ran through the city from east to west; several squares and market-places—*Augustæum*, *Chrysomilium*,[2] *Fo a Constantini*, *Theodosii*, *Arcadii*, *Artopolium*, *Strategion*, and others—splendid aqueducts, fountains, Νυμψαῖα, baths, Λουτρά; cisterns, Κιστέρναι; served for ornament and comfort. Among the magnificent public buildings, we mention the circus, ὁ Ἱπποδρόμος; the two theatres, the great palace, τὸ Ανάκτορον, with the court *Triclinium* (ἡ Χαλκή), the *Chrysotriclinium*, the *Porphyra*, the *Daphne*, the *Trullus* (so called from its cupola), the Tzycanisterium, or place for military exercises, many other imperial palaces, τῆς Μαγνούρας, τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, τοῦ Βουκολέοντος, Λαυριάκου; the tribunals or palaces for the Senate and State officers, for the Patriarchs and Prelates; the arsenals, *Armamentaria* (τὰ Μάγγανα); the immense storehouses; among the numerous and gaudy churches, those of *Santa Sophia*,[3] the *Pantokrator*, the *Pammakaristos*, the Holy Apostles, and *Santa Irene;* many convents, monasteries and pious institutions; and finally, on the western city walls (τὰ χερσαῖα τείχη), the splendid still preserved palace of Hebdomon (now *Tekiour-Seraï*). Outside of the city, along the banks of the Bosphorus, both in Europe and in Asia Minor, were situated numerous palaces, convents, country-seats and gardens. The canal from Pera to the Pontus with its shores, was called the *Strait*, τὸ Στενόν or τὸ Κατάστενον. Constantine, to adorn his new creation, plundered the other cities of Greece and Asia Minor of their artistical

[2] The *golden Mile-stone*, at the entrance of the Palace, from which started the principal high-roads of the Eastern Empire, like those of the Western from Rome.

[3] Founded by Constantine, but rebuilt by Justinian I. in A. D. 532.

treasures, columns, monuments, and heathen statues, which, in part, were transformed into Christian Saints, while their citizens were ordered to inhabit Constantinople, and even the proud Romans were induced, by flattery and privileges, to follow the Imperial Court.[4]

8. Division.—The Eastern Empire was divided into two præfectures, that of the *Orient* and that of *Illyria;* these were again subdivided into seven dioceses, comprising sixty or sixty-one provinces, which we shall now describe from records of the time.[5]

Præfecture of the Orient.

9. Extent and Division.—It was much more extensive than that of Illyria, comprehending all the possessions of the Eastern Empire in Asia and Africa, and one-third of those situated in Europe; it was divided into five dioceses—*Orient*, *Egypt*, *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*—which were subdivided into fifty provinces.

10. Diocese of the Orient.—This diocese was governed by a Count—*Comes Orientis*—who, on account of the importance of his trust, enjoyed the first rank among the *vicarii* of the east, and it consisted of the ancient provinces—*Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, the northwestern part of *Mesopotamia*, the two *Ciliciæ*, *Isauria*, and the island of *Cyprus*. Of its

[4] A thorough knowledge of the localities of Constantinople and its environs is necessary, in order to understand the Byzantine Historians. The best descriptions of Constantinople among the earlier writers, are those of Charles Dufresne (in the collection of Byzantine Historians) and Gyllius; among the moderns, the Κωνσταντινιάς, Venice, 1824, by a learned Greek prelate (in modern Greek), and *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, by von Hammer. Pesth, 1822, 2 Vols. A small but correct plan of medieval Constantinople is found in the excellent Historical Atlas of Doctor Charles von Spruner, under No. 59.

[5] See the Imperial Register from the time of Theodosius, entitled: *Notitia utraque dignitatum cum Orientis tum Occidentis.* Printed at the end of the Theodosian Code.

fifteen provinces, the five first were governed by Consulars; the other ten less important by Presidents. Dukes with bodies of troops were placed in Palestine *Salutaris*, Phœnicia *Libanensis*, Syria *Euphratensis*, Osrhoëne and Arabia, for the defence of the frontiers of the empire. These fifteen provinces of the Oriental diocese were according to their rank: 1st, *Palæstina Prima;* 2d, *Phœnicia Maritima;* 3d, *Syria;* 4th, *Cilicia Prima;* 5th, *Cyprus;* 6th, *Palæstina Salutaris;* 7th, *Palæstina Secunda;* 8th, *Phœnicia Libanensis;* 9th, *Syria Euphratensis;* 10th, *Syria Salutaris;* 11th, *Osrhoëne;* 12th, *Mesopotamia;* 13th, *Cilicia Secunda;* 14th, *Arabia;* 15th, *Isauria.* In our description of these provinces we shall follow a more regular geographical order, beginning with the south and proceeding toward the north.

11. I. PALÆSTINA TERTIA or *Salutaris*,[6] comprised the regions east and south of the Dead Sea, formerly belonging to Arabia Petræa (Ammonitis, Moabitis, and Idumæa). It extended also across the valley of Arabah westward so as to take in Beersheba and Elusa. PETRA, the ancient capital of the *Nabathæans*, in the deep romantic valley of Moses—Wady Musa—beneath Mount Horeb, was probably the metropolis.

II. PALÆSTINA PRIMA, northwest of the former, extended along the coast of the Mediterranean and eastward across to the Dead Sea. Its metropolis was CÆSAREA (now the ruins of Kaissarieh), which had changed its ancient name, *Turris Stratonis*, when Herod the Great built his magnificent city with its artificial harbor in honor of Cæsar Augustus.[7] JERUSALEM, or *Aelia Capitolina*, the venerable capital of the ancient Jews, held now only a second rank in the province, and it was not until one century later, at the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451–53, that it was erected into an independent Patriarchate,

[6] This by-name, *Salutary*, was given to several provinces of both empires, on account of their thermal springs.

[7] Its name was *Cæsarea Palæstina*, to distinguish it from the Cappadocian Cæsarea and the Cæsarea Philippi (Paneas) in Trachonitis.

comprising the three Palestines.[8] After the first almost total destruction of the city by Titus in A. D. 70, Hadrian had begun to rebuild it as a Roman fortress, when the second terrible insurrection of the exasperated Jews under their mysterious leader, Barcochba, brought new disasters over the miserable population of Judæa. They were, in spite of their desperate valor, vanquished by the sword—A. D. 132–135—and sold by thousands as slaves, or expelled to the coasts of of Africa. Hadrian then established a new Roman Colony on the ruins; a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus rose on Mount Moriah, and statues of Venus and other Roman idols, as if in mockery, crowned the Calvary and Golgotha; nay, the name of Jerusalem was anathematized, and the Roman settlement was named Aelia Capitolina. But with the spread of Christianity, the pilgrims began to flock to Jerusalem; the idols and heathen temples were destroyed; Constantine and his mother, the pious Helena, erected splendid churches and hospitals for the reception of the pilgrims at Jerusalem and Bethlehem in 326. Saint Hilarion brought his hermits with him from the Thebaïs in Egypt, and then the wilderness of Judah, the shores of the Dead Sea, and the valley of Jordan, became inhabited by thousands of recluses; these austere anchorites lived in the natural grottoes and caverns on the dreary mountains, and united for worship in their common sanctuaries or *lauræ*, which afterwards, by Pachymius, were placed under a severer monastic discipline as *κοινόβια* or *monasteries*. At the time we speak of (395) Santa Paula,[9] the noble Roman lady,

[8] The Patriarchate of Antioch continued to rule the two Phœniciæ and northern Arabia.

[9] Santa Paula died in 404. We copied the beautiful inscription on her sepulchre in the grotto of the Nativity, during our visit to Bethlehem.

Adspicis angustum præcisa in rupe sepulcrum?
Hospitium Paulæ est, cœlestia regna tenentis.
Fratrem, cognatos, Romam patriamque relinquens
Divitias sobolem Bethlehemite conditur antro.
Hic præsepe tuum, Christe, atque hic mystica Magi
Munera portantes, hominique Deoque dedere.

and her pious daughter Eustochium, were building nunneries in Bethlehem; St. Eusebius had just been buried in the sepulchral vault of the grotto of the Nativity, and his disciple St. Jerome, was then occupied in his rock-chamber with his Latin translation of the Sacred Scriptures, while the Goths were devastating Rome and Italy. A century later St. Sabas founded his celebrated monastery in the valley of the Kidron.[10]

III. PALÆSTINA SECUNDA, east of the former, comprehended Samaria, Galilee, and part of the Decapolis beyond Jordan. Its metropolis was SCYTHOPOLIS, the ancient *Bethshean* (now Tell Beisan), situated in the valley of Jezreel, near the Jordan, with an Episcopal see and a celebrated monastery.

IV. ARABIA, east of the Jordan, consisted of the ancient Ituræa, Trachonitis, Auranitis and Batanæa, bordering upon the great desert, with the metropolis BOSTRA (now Basra). The governor united the titles of Duke and President, and commanded the troops on the frontier.

V. PHŒNICIA MARITIMA extended along Mount Lebanon and the sea. Its earlier metropolis was the old Phœnician TYR—*Tyrus*—(now Sour), on its peninsula; later, however, under the younger Theodosius, BERYTUS (now Beïrut), the seat of the celebrated Roman law-school, obtained that dignity.

VI. PHŒNICIA LIBANI or *Libanesia* (*Libanensis*), on the east of Mount Lebanon, consisted of the ancient Cœle-Syria and Palmyrene. Its capital was the magnificent and populous city of DAMASCUS in its fertile plain, at the base of the Anti-Lebanon, and already at that period celebrated for its manufactures of arms. Northward on the Orontes lay EMESA (now Hems), which had risen on the downfall of Palmyra in the war between Queen Zenobia and Aurelian, A. D. 275. The latter city, in the desert toward the Euphrates, had lost its wealth

[10] Interesting details on the condition of Jerusalem during the early Christian centuries are given in Prof. Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine. Vol. II., page 3–27.

and splendor, though it still remained the great resting-place for the caravans from the east.

12. VII. SYRIA SECUNDA or *Salutaris*, the ancient Apamene, lay north of the former, with its metropolis APAMEA (now Famieh), in a strong position on a lake formed by the river Orontes.

VIII. SYRIA PRIMA or *Consularis*, on the northern slope of Mount Lebanon, possessed the largest and most populous city of the diocese, splendid Antioch (now Andakieh), on the Orontes, surrounded by gardens, vineyards and olive groves, the seat of all the delights and glitter of the East. It was the metropolis of the province, and the residence of the count; and here were the arsenals and military dépôts of the empire.

IX. SYRIA EUPHRATENSIS was situated west of the Euphrates, and contained the ancient Cyrrhestice and Commagene, with the metropolis HIERAPOLIS, syr. *Bambyce* (now Mambeseh), at a short distance from the Euphrates (now Frat).

13. X. OSRHOENE, east of the former, on the left bank of the Euphrates, and the outskirts of the Empire, was then the contested battle-field with the Persians. It had formed part of the ancient Mesopotamia, and was defended toward the Tigris by the two celebrated fortresses of NISIBIS and DARA, which, however, alternately were conquered by the Persians, or retaken by the Romans. EDESSA, called *Callirrhoë*, from her pleasant springs (now Orfah), the metropolis, was likewise strongly fortified, and contained celebrated shield and armor factories, and the arsenals and dépôts for the armies on the Persian frontier. On the southeast of Edessa lay *Theodosiopolis*, the ancient Resain, rebuilt by the emperor whose name it took, in a rich and well watered region.

XI. MESOPOTAMIA, on the northeastern frontier, was formed of that small strip of the ancient province of Mesopotamia called *Sophene*, between the upper Euphrates and Tigris with the metropolis AMIDA (now Diabekir).

14. XII. CILICIA SECUNDA, the eastern part of the ancient

Cilicia campestris, the fertile and beautiful plain between the high mountain ranges of *Amanus* and *Taurus*, with the metropolis ANAZARBUS (now Ak-Saraï), on the river *Pyramus*.

XIII. CILICIA PRIMA formed the rest, or the western part of the ancient *Cilicia campestris*, with the rich and commercial metropolis TARSUS on the *Cydnus*.

XIV. ISAURIA, west of Cilicia Prima, comprised both the ancient *Isauria* and *Cilicia Trachæa*. The mountaineers of this rugged and barren country still retained their old roving habits, wherefore a Count at the head of two legions united here the military and civil command. The metropolis was SELEUCIA TRACHÆA (now Selefkieh), situated on the coast opposite to the island of Cyprus.

XV. The island of Cyprus, separated from the mainland of Asia Minor by the Cilician Straits—*Aulon Cilicius*—was still populous and highly cultivated; and its metropolis *Salamis*, on the eastern coast, had recently taken the name of one of the sons of Constantine, and was called CONSTANTIA (now Costanza).

15. DIOCESE OF EGYPT.—This diocese, the richest and most important of the empire, on account of its immense export of grains for the provision of Constantinople, was governed by a Præfect with the title of *Augustalis*, and a rank immediately following that of the *Comes Orientis;* but as he could only be chosen from the order of the Roman Knights—*Equites*—the six provinces under his diocese—Libya superior, Libya inferior, Thebaïs, Egypt Proper, Arcadia, and Augustamnica—were not governed by Consulars, but the five first by Presidents, and the last by a Corrector. A military Count, with two Dukes and bodies of troops, was stationed in Egypt proper, for the defence of the frontiers of Libya superior and Thebaïs.

16. I. AUGUSTAMNICA or *Augustanice*, formed the north-eastern part of Lower Egypt, between the mouth of the Nile and the frontiers of Palestine and Arabia, with PELUSIUM (now Tineh) for its metropolis.

II. ÆGYPTUS PROPRIA, on the east of the foregoing, con-

sisted of that part of the Delta lying west of the Nile toward Lybia. ALEXANDRIA, the metropolis, and residence of the *Præfectus Augustalis* and the military Count, was still, by its splendor, wealth, science and commerce, one of the most important cities of the civilized world. The circumference of its walls was twelve Roman miles, within which lived a bustling population of three hundred thousand souls, gathered from every part of the Roman empire. Two magnificent avenues crossed in right angles through the length and breadth of the city, dividing the ancient *Bruchium* from the *Rhacotis*. The principal of these thoroughfares—the *Via Eleusinia*—was the Broadway of Alexandria; it ran from the eastern or Canopian gate westward, between rows of marble columns, for forty stadia or five miles, to the western gate, that of the *Necropolis*. Magnificent public buildings adorned it on both sides; the *Stadium*, the town-hall or *Decasterium*, the *Gymnasium*, the amphitheatre and the immense *Soma*, the mausoleum in which the body of Alexander the Great, the founder of the city, was deposited. At the *Heptapylon*, the second street struck the first, running from the *Porta Solis* on the lake of *Mareotis*, northward to the coast where at the Moon gate—*Porta Lunæ*—the *Heptastadium*, a magnificent dike or causeway, seven stadia in length, united the island of Pharus with the mainland. Here stood the celebrated beacon-tower—the Pharus—the wonder of ancient architecture, built by Sostratus of Cnidus; its height was 360 feet, and its blazing fires were distinguished at a distance of forty miles on the sea. It looked down upon the ports—*Portus Major* on the east, the *Eunostus* on the west—smaller ports for the imperial fleets, and for the public granaries, were strongly fortified, and guarded with troops. In the Bruchium stood the Museum, with the precious library, and the *Sebaste* or Temple of Cæsar, with two obelisks in front, which latter having during two thousand years seen the downfall of Egyptian superstition at Thebes, and then been removed to Alexandria in honor of Grecian polytheism, remained now to adorn a Christian church

In the same quarter stood—and stands to this day—the lofty column of Diocletian, with its equestrian statue on the top, raised to record the conquering Emperor's humanity, and the gratitude of the citizens of the world's emporium. On the outside of the western gate was the *Necropolis*, whose memorials of the dead, both Pagan and Christian, lined the roadside and the sea-coast for more than two miles, and harmonized most truly with the faded glories of the empire. Near the western gate also, but within the walls, stood the famed Temple of Serapis, second to no building in the world but the Roman Capitol, a glittering monument of the rise and fall of religions, once the very fortress of paganism, now the Patriarchal Cathedral of victorious Christendom.[11]

III. ARCADIA, so called by Theodosius in honor of his younger son, Arcadius, was formed of central Egypt, the ancient *Heptanomis*, and extended from the point of the Delta to the border of the Thebaïs, in Upper Egypt. Its metropolis was MEMPHIS (now Menf in its ruins), on the left bank of the Nile.

IV. THEBAÏS, south of Arcadia, was subdivided in the first and second Thebaïs, and comprehended all Upper Egypt. It was protected by eight legions, stationed on the frontiers. Its metropolis, ANTINOE, the ancient *Besa*, on the right bank of the river, had become a beautiful and flourishing city since the great repairs and embellishments which Hadrian undertook in commemoration of his favorite Antinoûs, who had perished in the Nile. *Thebes*, which gave name to the province,

[11] Since the Arabian conquest, A. D. 640 (206), the population of Alexandria has diminished so much that the whole modern city now stands on the widened Heptastadium, the causeway that joins to the mainland what was once the island of Pharus. Only the towering column of Diocletian—commonly called the pillar of Pompey—and the obelisk of the Sebaste (the needle of Cleopatra), still remain in their place, and serve as guides for the antiquary.—See the attempt of Sir Gardiner Wilkinson to describe the localities of ancient Alexandria in his excellent work on Egypt.

existed no longer as an inhabited place, but its immense temple ruins still covered both the banks of the Nile.

17. V. LIBYA INFERIOR, the ancient *Marmarica*, extended westward along the Mediterranean; its metropolis, PARÆTONIUM (now Al-Baretun), was situated on the coast opposite to Rhodes.

VI. LIBYA SUPERIOR, the celebrated ancient Greek colony of the five cities—the Pentapolis of *Cyrenaïca*, was the most western province of the eastern empire. The metropolis, CYRENE, a large and flourishing city, in a wonderfully fertile and beautiful country, was situated four miles from the coast, on which lay its harbor, *Sosuza*, formerly *Apollonia* (now Marza-Susa).

18. THE DIOCESE OF ASIA.—*Diœcesis Asiana*—was formed of all the early conquests of the victorious Romans in Asia Minor. It was divided into two parts: the *Diocese of Asia Proper*, which was governed by a Vicar, and contained eight provinces, and of the *Proconsulate of Asia*, ruled by a Proconsul, who was directly subordinate to the Prætorial Præfect of the Orient. It consisted of the three provinces contiguous to the Egean. The eight provinces of the diocese were the following: 1st, *Pamphylia;* 2d, *Lydia;* 3d, *Caria;* 4th, *Lycia;* 5th, *Lycaonia;* 6th, *Pisidia;* 7th, *Phrygia Pacatiana;* 8th, *Phrygia Salutaris.* The two first provinces were governed by Consulars, and the eight latter by Presidents. The three maritime provinces depending on the Proconsulate of Asia were *Asia proper*, governed by the Proconsul himself; *Hellespont* having a Consular; and the *islands of the Egean* with a President.

19. THE PROVINCES OF THE DIOCESE, after their geographical order, and proceeding from east to west, may be ranged in the following manner:

I. PAMPHYLIA, west of Isauria, extended along the coast. Its metropolis was PERGE (now Kara-Hissar—Black Castle) at a short distance on the Pamphylian gulf. Other cities were the beautiful *Attalia* (now Adaliah), deeper in the gulf, sur-

rounded by its orange-gardens, but of such melancholy memory from the Crusades; and *Aspendus* (now Manavgat), on the *Eurymedon*, in the interior.

II. LYCAONIA, north of the Taurus, extending through immense and dreary plains, with the metropolis ICONIUM (now Konieh), near a lake, on the high-road from Constantinople to Syria.

III. PISIDIA, the rugged stronghold of the ancient robber-hordes, so well known from Xenophon's Anabasis, southwest of Lycaonia, with the metropolis ANTIOCHIA PISIDIÆ (now Ak-Sher).

20. IV. PHRYGIA SALUTARIS, northwest of Lycaonia. The metropolis was SYNNADA (now Sidi-Ghazi), at that period so celebrated on account of the splendid marbles which the Romans obtained from the neighboring mountains.

V. PHRYGIA PACATIANA, which owed its by-name to one of its governors. The metropolis was the large and flourishing LAODICEA (now Eski-Hissar—Old Castle), on the river Lycus, which joins the Mæander.

VI. LYCIA, with its high projecting mountain-chains forming a peninsula on the Mediterranean, had for its metropolis the ancient maritime town of MYRA (now Makra).

21. VII. CARIA, on the angle formed by the Karpathian Sea and the Egean, with APHRODISIAS (now Gheira) for its capital. This city was situated on the mountains in the interior, and had received its name from the worship of Aphrodite (Venus); it is unknown when it took the start of the old Dorian *Halicarnassus* (now the ruinous Castle of Budrun) on the coast of the Ceramic gulf.

VIII. LYDIA, north of Caria, embraced only the interior of the ancient province of that name, and had for its metropolis the celebrated SARDES (now the miserable hamlet Sart), at the base of mount *Tmolus*, in the fertile plain of the river *Hermus*. It had been the capital of the ancient Lydian Kings, and still possessed imperial manufactures of armor and offensive weapons.

22. THE PROVINCES OF THE PROCONSULATE were—

I. ASIA PROPRIA, northwest of Lydia, comprised some portion of the ancient kingdom of Pergamus, and the earlier Greek maritime colonies of Ionia and Æolia, with the metropolis EPHESUS (now Aïa Soluk), the largest and most important city in the western part of Asia Minor. PERGAMUS (now Bergamo), on the Caicus, rivalled in rank and riches with Ephesus, and surpassed it by its magnificent Macedonian monuments from the times of its kings.

II. HELLESPONTUS, along the straits which gave it its name. Its metropolis was CYZICUS (now Zisik), on a small peninsula of the Propontis. ABYDOS (now Avido), on the narrowest part of the straits, near the present castles of the Dardanelles, was then one of the most flourishing towns of the province.

III. THE PROVINCE OF THE ISLES consisted of all the islands in the Egean, and those lying along the coast of Asia Minor, such as the *Cyclades* and *Sporades*, *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Samos*, *Patmos*, *Cos*, and *Rhodes*; the beautiful city of the latter was the metropolis and residence of the governor during winter, while it was his duty in summer to visit all the islands in their turn.[12]

23. DIOCESE OF PONTUS—*Diœcesis Pontica*—embraced not only the ancient kingdom of Mithridates, but all the northern coast-land of Asia Minor, from the Thracian Bosporus and the Propontis on the west, eastward to the frontiers of the empire on the mountains of Armenia. It was governed by a Vicar, and contained the following eleven provinces: 1st, *Galatia*; 2d, *Bithynia*; 3d, *Honorias*; 4th, *First Cappadocia*; 5th, *Second Cappadocia*; 6th, *Hellenopontus*; 7th, *Pontus Polemoniacus*; 8th, *First Armenia*; 9th, *Second Armenia*; 10th, *Galatia Salutaris*; 11th, *Paphlagonia*. The two first were governed by Consulars, the eight following by Presidents,

[12] The rest—Tenedos, Lemnos, Imbrus, Somothrace, Thasos, Sciathus, Scyros, Scopelos, Cythera and Crete, belonged to the Diocese of Macedonia.

and the last by a Corrector. Let us review them in their geographical order, beginning from the east.

I. PONTUS POLEMONIACUS consisted of the eastern part of the ancient province of Pontus, and had formed a kingdom under the first Emperors, which took its name from its monarchs, the Polemons. The metropolis was either NEOCÆSAREA (now Niksara), on the river *Lycus*, or perhaps TRAPEZUS (now Tarabesan), the celebrated Peloponnesian colony on the shores of the Black Sea. Other cities, flourishing by fisheries and commerce, were *Polemonium* and *Cerasus*, with its forests of cherry-trees, and in the interior *Comana Pontica*.

II. HELLENOPONTUS or *Pontus of Helena*, in honor of the mother of Constantine, consisted of the western part of ancient Pontus, with the metropolis of AMASIA (now Amasiah), on the Iris, the old capital of the Pontian kings.

25. III. ARMENIA PRIMA, on the south, was composed of the northern part of the ancient Armenia Minor. Its metropolis was SEBASTE (now Sivas), the ancient *Cabira*, on the river *Halys*.

IV. ARMENIA SECUNDA, south of the former; metropolis, MELITENE (now Malethija), near the Euphrates, the ancient capital of the small province of that name which formed the northeastern corner of Cappadocia.

26. V. CAPPADOCIA PRIMA, westward of the two former provinces, had formed the central part of the ancient kingdom of Cappadocia. The metropolis was CÆSAREA AD ARGEUM (now Kaïsarieh), at the base of the snow-capped Mount Argeus. It had been the residence of the Cappadocian kings, then called *Mazaca*, and was still a thriving town—important by her excellent fabrication of cuirasses.

VI. CAPPADOCIA SECUNDA had been separated from the former by the Emperor Valens. TYANA (now Nikdeh), the birthplace of the notorious cheat Apollonius, became then the metropolis, an event which caused so violent a contest between St. Basile, the Archbishop of Cæsarea, and the Bishop of Tyana, who, on account of this division, attempted to grasp

at the metropolitan rights, that the Council of Cappadocia in 372, was obliged to augment the number of bishoprics, in order that the two warring prelates might each obtain their suffragan churches.

27. VII. GALATIA SECUNDA or *Salutaris*, northwest of Cappadocia Secunda, had been formed by Theodosius from the southern part of the ancient Galatia. Metropolis, PESSINUS (now Bosan), on the *Sangarius*.

VIII. GALATIA PRIMA, north of the former, consisted of the northern part of the ancient Galatia. Metropolis, ANCYRA (now Angora).

28. IX. PAPHLAGONIA, between Galatia Prima and the Black Sea, contained the entire ancient province of that name. Metropolis was GANGRA (now Kiangari), the residence of King Dejotarus, the friend of Cicero.

X. HONORIAS, west of Paphlagonia, on the coast, had formed the northeastern part of Bithynia, when Theodosius the Great formed a new province of it, in honor of his eldest son, Honorius. Metropolis, CLAUDIOPOLIS (now Castomena), near the coast. HERACLEA (Erakli), on the Pontus Euxinus, a thriving commercial place, was second in rank.

XI. BITHYNIA, west of Honorias, embraced a part of the Propontis, but contained, as we mentioned, only the southwestern part of the ancient kingdom of Bithynia. Valens had already divided it into *Bithynia Prima*, with NICOMEDIA (now Nikmid) for metropolis. This city, the splendid capital of Diocletian, was situated on the gulf of *Astacus;* it still preserved many interesting monuments of its better days, and lived from its important manufactures of armor and offensive weapons. NICÆA (now Isnik), on the beautiful lake, was the metropolis of Bithynia Secunda. It became celebrated from the first general council held there in A. D. 325, then again during the Crusades, and is still a fine oriental town. PRUSA (now Brusa), on a fertile plain at the foot of Mount Olympus, was the ancient residence of the Bithynian kings, and had the second rank after Nicæa.

DIOCESE OF THRACE.—It was governed by a Vicar, and was divided into six provinces: 1st, *Europa;* 2d, *Thrace Proper;* 3d, *Hæmimons;* 4th, *Rhodope;* 5th, *Mœsia Secunda;* 6th, *Scythia.* The two first were governed by Consulars, and the following four by Presidents; military Dukes with troops were moreover placed in Mœsia and Scythia, for the defence of the frontiers on the Danube.

30. I. EUROPA was situated on the Thracian Bosporus and the Propontis, and preserved thus its primitive name, which afterwards was applied to the whole continent. As Constantinople had its own administration, HERACLÈA (now Erekli), the ancient Perinthus, on the Propontis, was the metropolis of the province.

II. RHODOPE, west of Europa, took its name from the mountain range which starts off westward from the central Scardus. Its metropolis was TRAJANOPOLIS (now Arachova), on the *Hebrus*, one of the cities which Trajan had built in the interior of Thrace. *Abdera* (now Djenidje), was a considerable commercial port on the Egean.

III. HÆMIMONS, or province of Mount Hæmus, north of Rhodope, owed its origin to Theodosius. Metropolis, HADRIANOPOLIS (now Adrianople, Turkish *Edrené*), a large and strongly fortified city, on the left bank of the Hebrus, with imperial manufactures of arms and military engines, became important at the period we describe, by the siege which it so gallantly sustained against the Visigoths, and by the terrible defeat and death of Valens, while attempting its relief, in August, 378. The battle-field was on the north of the city, near the village of *Skutarion*, where the emperor was burnt in a cottage, on his flight.

IV. THRACIA PROPRIA, west of Hæmimons, consisted only of the western extremity of that region, with the metropolis, PHILIPPOPOLIS (now Filibe), on the upper Hebrus.

31. V. MŒSIA SECUNDA or *Inferior*, north of Hæmimons, and of Thrace, beyond the ridge of Mount Hæmus, along the banks of the Danube. Metropolis, MARCIANOPOLIS (now Pra-

wani), where the Romans suffered the first defeat against the Visigoths, in 377, after the admission of the latter into the Roman provinces, the preceding year, 376, to the number of more than a million of souls.

VI. Scythia Parva, northeast of Mœsia Secunda, formed a narrow peninsula between the course of the lower Danube and the Black Sea. Metropolis, Tomi (now Baba Dagh), on the Pontus, well known from the exile of the poet Ovidius. *Salices*, or the village of the willows, of sorrowful memory, from another defeat which the Romans suffered there, during the Gothic war in 377.

Præfecture of Illyria

32. Extent and Divisions.—This præfecture was often called *Illyria Orientalis*, in order to distinguish it from another diocese of the Western Empire, which likewise had the name of *Illyricum* (45). It embraced most of the European possessions of the eastern Empire, and was divided into two dioceses; that of *Dacia* on the north, and of *Macedonia*, which contained all ancient Hellas, on the south. The two dioceses consisted of eleven provinces. It was in this important præfecture that Alaric, the first king of the Visigoths, by force of arms and intrigue, obtained, in 398, the dignity of Master General of eastern Illyria, which he employed to the subjugation of the western Empire.

33. Diocese of Dacia.—The ancient province of Dacia lay on the north of the Danube, and extended on the northeast toward Sarmatia, from which it was separated by the river *Tyras* or *Danaster* (now Dniester). North, it reached the Carpathian Mountains, and west, to the river *Tibiscus* (now Theiss). The low, swampy plain between that river and the upper Danube, afterwards the residence of Attila and the Huns at Buda, and the conquest of the Avars and Magyars (Hungarians) in the 6th and 9th centuries—was never occupied by the Romans. Its inhabitants were the wild, nomading

Jazyges, of Sarmatian origin, whose descendants may still be distinguished among the many races of modern Hungary. Roman Dacia thus embraced the present Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and part of Hungary; its rivers were the Tibiscus and Mariscus (now Marosh). The ancient Daci had been vanquished by Trajan, during his campaigns in 103–6, when Dacia was reduced to a Roman province, and repeopled with numerous Roman colonies. The old Dacian town, *Zarmizegethusa* was then denominated *Ulpia Trajana*, and several ruins in the neighborhood of the modern convent of Sarnitza, south of Weissenburgh, still attest the great exertions of the Romans to obtain a firm footing beyond the Danube. Dacia became a flourishing province, and remained for 168 years (between A. D. 106, and 274), united to the Roman empire. But on the advance of the Goths toward the Black Sea and the lower Danube, and the invasion of the Alemanni on the Rhine, the Emperor Aurelian voluntarily evacuated Dacia in the year 274, and transported the Roman inhabitants back across the Danube to *Mœsia* (the present Bulgaria and Servia), where he established them in a new province, *Dacia Aureliani*, which he formed on the Danube, in the centre of Mœsia, between the rivers Utus (now Isker) on the east, and Margus (now Morava) on the west. Yet the greater part of the Roman population seems to have remained in ancient Dacia under the mild sway of the Visigoths, and even afterwards, during the invasions of the Avars and Hungarians; they have preserved their Latin language, though somewhat corrupted, down to the present day, and form now, under the name *Wlachs* or *Rumani*, one of the many heterogeneous races of Transylvania. The diocese of Dacia, in the times of Theodosius, was governed by a Vicar, and was divided into five provinces: 1st, *Dacia Interior* or *Mediterranea;* 2d, *Dacia Ripensis;* 3d, *Mœsia Prima;* 4th, *Dardania;* 5th, *Prævalitana*, with a part of *Macedonia Salutaris*. The first province was governed by a Consular, and the four others by Presidents. In Dacia Ripensis and Mœsia Prima, both

situated along the Danube, dukes and numerous garrisons were formerly stationed at the strong fortresses of *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, and *Ratiaria*, to prohibit the passage of the river. But since the year 376, the immense swarms of Visigoths, with their families and herds of cattle, had already been admitted, and temporarily settled in Mœsia Secunda and Scythia Minor, on the Pontus, whence they soon spread war and devastation into the very heart of the sinking empire. We shall now describe these important provinces after their geographical position from north to south.

34. I. Dacia Ripensis, along the Ister or Danube, opposite to the ancient Dacia, which was situated on the north beyond the river. Ratiaria (now Widdin), on the banks of the Danube, was the metropolis, and a fortified city, with manufactures of arms.

II. Dacia Mediterranea or *Interior*, south of the former, extended to the northern base of Mount *Hæmus*, and had for its metropolis, Sardica or *Triaditza* (still the present name), so celebrated by the Ecclesiastical Council held there in the time of Constantine, and by the devastations of the Barbarians, who crossed the passes of Mount Hæmus south of the city. Maximin, the opponent of Licinius, was born in the environs of Sardica, and Constantine the great at *Naissus* (now Nissa).

III. Mœsia Prima or *Superior*, west of Dacia Ripensis, after the dismembering of the two Daciæ, contained only the western part of the ancient province, and formed the frontier of the eastern Empire on the *Savus* and *Drinus*, which separated it from western Rome. Its metropolis was the strong fortress Viminacium or *Biminacium* (now presenting only heaps of ruins in the neighborhood of the village Gradistie), on the Danube. Another bulwark of the Empire was *Singidunum* (now the thrice celebrated Belgrade), westward on the confluence of the Savus and the Danube, where so many bloody battles have been fought.

35. IV. Dardania, south of Mœsia Superior, preserved its name from one of the ancient provinces of the Macedonian kingdom, and it extended on both slopes of *Mount Scardus*.

Its metropolis was SCUPI, or *Skupoi* (now Uskup), southeast, on the upper Axius. Northeast of Scupi lay the small village *Tauresion* (now Giustendil), on the Strymon; the birthplace of Justinus and Justinian, which afterwards was enlarged and favored in honor of the Emperor under the pompous name of *Ulpiana* or *Justiniana Prima.*

V. PRÆVALITANA, southwest of Dardania, was formed of a portion of ancient Illyria, and touched the Adriatic coast at the mouth of the river Barbana, which formed the western frontier of the Empire toward Dalmatia. It was afterwards called Prebalis and Aemathia in Upper Albania. SCODRA (now Scutari), on the southern shore of the lake *Labeatis* (now lake of Scutari or Scodra), at a short distance from the Adriatic gulf, was the metropolis. It contained likewise the northern part of another province called *Macedonia Salutaris*, which seems, from reasons unknown, to have been divided between the two dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia.

36. DIOCESE OF MACEDONIA. — It embraced the ancient kingdom of Macedonia, Epirus and Greece, and was divided into six provinces, the most important of which, that of *Achaïa*, containing central and southern Greece, formed, on account of its importance and ancient glory, a proconsulate by itself, like that of Asia (18) independent of the Vicar, governing the diocese. The five other provinces, placed under his jurisdiction, were after their rank: 1st, *Macedonia Minor;* 2d, *Crete;* 3d, *Thessaly;* 4th, *Epirus;* 5th, *Epirus Nova*, with the southern part of *Macedonia Salutaris.* The two first were ruled by Consulars, and the four others by Presidents. We will describe them in their geographical order descending from the north, south through Greece.

37. I. MACEDONIA MINOR, on the southeast of the diocese, formed the ancient Macedonia proper, that is, Edonia, Chalcidice, Mygdonia, Eordæa, Emathia, Pieria and Elymiotis, and was separated from Thrace by the river Nestus. THESSALONICA (now Saloniki on the Thermaic gulf) was the metropolis—*Edessa* and *Pella*, the ancient capitals of the kingdom,

though wofully decayed since the times of Philip and Alexander, were still towns of some importance and movement.

38. II. EPIRUS NOVA, on the west side of Mount Pindus, was formed, by Theodosius, into a separate province, from the northern part of ancient Epirus, and DYRRACHIUM (now Durazzo), on a small bay of the Ionian Sea, was made its metropolis. The southwestern part of the dismembered province Macedonia Salutaris (35), was joined to New Epirus. It is supposed that STOBI or *Stoboi* (now Istib), situated in the depth of the Pelagonian Mountains, continued after the dismemberment to remain the seat of a governor with the title of President.

III. EPIRUS VETUS, or *antiqua*, south of Epirus Nova, consisted of the southern parts of ancient Epirus as its name indicates, the modern Albania. Metropolis was NICOPOLIS (now lying in ruins near Prevesa) on the Ambracian gulf, where it had been built 31 B. C. by Octavian Augustus, in commemoration of his naval victory at Actium over Antonius and Cleopatra.

39. IV. THESSALIA, on the east of Epirus, embraced the whole ancient province of that name. Metropolis LARISSA, on the Peneus, at the foot of Mount Olympus.

V. CRETA (now Candia), south of the Egean, the greatest island of Greece. Metropolis GORTYNA on the fertile plain at the base of Mount Ida near the southern coast of the island. The ruins of Gortyna are situated near the village of Kainurion, where some travellers have taken the deep quarries in the neighbouring hills for the celebrated labyrinth of king Minos, though it was situated on the north of the island near *Cnossus*. This beautiful and fertile island had lost part of its population by dearth and pestilence, when Helena the mother of Constantine, on her return from Palestine in 326, landed on Crete, and ordered new settlers from Egypt and Syria, Cilicia and the neighboring islands to repair the loss.

40. THE PROCONSULATE OF ACHAIA had already, in the times of the Roman Republic, been declared a proconsular province by the Clodian law. It had since always preserved

that dignity, and was thus by the rank of its governor exempted from the jurisdiction of the vicar of the Macedonian diocese, and appealed directly to the prætorial præfect of Illyria. CORINTHUS, with its strong fortress *Acro-Corinthus*, on the Isthmus, connecting the Peloponnesus with the mainland of northern Greece, was still a thriving city and the metropolis of the proconsulate. Yet a few years later, at the time of the invasion of Alaric and his Visigoths in A. D. 396, both Corinth, *Argos* and *Sparta* were plundered, and the inhabitants slaughtered or led off in captivity. *Eleusis*, with its proud priesthood and splendid temples, had already suffered the same fate. ATHENS, *Athenæ*, alone escaped; Alaric visited the city, feasted with the jovial Athenians and departed without committing any depredations, nor did the magnificent monuments on the Acropolis suffer any wanton destruction from the wild Barbarians, or from the still fiercer swarms of Arian monks who followed their camp.

II. THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

41. BOUNDARIES.—The western empire extended from the rivers Drinus and Barbana, in Illyria, and from the great Syrtis, in Africa, to the Atlantic Ocean. The island of Britain, as far north as the walls of Antonine, formed likewise a part of it.

42. CAPITALS.—Rome had neither lost its splendor nor its immense population, and it was still considered as the first capital of the Roman empire; but even before Constantine it had ceased to be the only residence of the emperors. By the building of Constantinople it lost entirely that old privilege, nor did it get it back on the separation of the two states. MEDIOLANUM, *Milan*, situated in the vast and fertile plain of Cisalpine Gaul, seemed the most convenient residence for the succeeding emperors, who, being there in the midst of their armaments and military resources, were better enabled to watch the movements of the warlike Germanic nations beyond the

Danube. Constantine had already, in A. D. 313, made his residence in Milan memorable by the proclamation of his celebrated edict in favor of the Christians. Afterwards, when the invasion of the Visigoths under Alaric, 403, had forced the timid Honorius to flee from that city, he found a refuge at RAVENNA, amidst the swamps of the Adriatic Sea. Thus this unhealthy and sequestered spot, surrounded by low meadows, morasses, and canals, like modern Venice, became now the capital and the asylum of the emperors. She enjoyed for a long time the privilege of being an imperial residence, and was the last seat of Roman power in Italy.

43. DIVISIONS.—The western empire was, like the eastern, divided into two præfectures, that of *Italy* on the east, and that of the *Gauls* on the west. These præfectures were again subdivided into seven dioceses, and fifty-eight provinces, which we shall now describe in their order.

PRÆFECTURE OF ITALY.

44. EXTENT AND DIVISION.—It embraced besides the vast Hesperian Peninsula, all the possessions of the western empire in Europe between the ridge of the Alps and the Danube, and east of the Adriatic, and moreover that part of Africa running along the coast of the Mediterranean, from the *Great Syrtis* to the river *Malva*, which formed the western boundary toward the Cæsarean Mauritania. This præfecture was subdivided into four dioceses, *Rome*, *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*, which contained together thirty provinces. We shall describe them in their geographical order.

45. DIOCESE OF ILLYRICUM.—This diocese of Illyricum is distinguished from the præfecture of *Illyria*, belonging to the eastern empire by the special designation, *Illyricum Occidentale*. It embraced all the eastern part of the præfecture of Italy, viz.: the regions east of the Adriatic, of the Julian Alps, and of the river Œnus (now Inn), which falls into the Danube. Thus it comprehended Illyricum Proper, together

with Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and was divided into six provinces: 1st, *Pannonia Secunda;* 2d, *Savia;* 3d, *Pannonia Prima;* 4th, *Noricum Mediterraneum;* 5th *Noricum Ripense;* 6th, *Dalmatia.* The first was governed by a Consular, the second by a Corrector,[13] and the four others by Presidents. All these provinces, except upper Noricum and Dalmatia, were defended by military dukes and their divisions of troops, who were stationed along the Danube. It seems that the provinces of Savia and Pannonia had their military quarters in a particular region called VALERIA, which extended from the hill country near *Acincum* (Buda) all along the Danube to its junction with the Drave, near Mursa (Essek), something similar, perhaps, to the present Austrian military frontiers of Croatia, where the troops (frontier regiments) live in permanent camps. The Romans had likewise fortified the hilly country between the Danube and the Theiss, called *the Bacs*, by an embankment with military stations, against the incursions of the roving Jazygian tribes of the plain. We shall now describe the provinces of the diocese of Illyricum, after their geographical order, from southeast to northwest.

46. I. DALMATIA, on the coast of the Adriatic, retained its ancient name; but it contained, besides, that northern part of ancient Illyria, known by the name of *Liburnia*, which does not seem to have formed a separate province. Its metropolis was SALONA, in a beautiful plain near the coast. It was the birthplace of the Emperor Diocletian, who, after his abdication, A. D. 304, retired to the splendid palace which he had built near Salona, where he spent the remainder of his active life in rural occupations. The village of *Aspalathus*, and long afterwards the provincial town of *Spalatro*, have grown out of the ruins of the imperial asylum, which still, in spite of its architectural grandeur, exhibits the decline of arts in the third century.

[13] In the western empire, the rank of the corrector (or co-rector) was superior to that of the president; the contrary was the case in the eastern empire.

47. II. SAVIA, north of Dalmatia, took its name from the river *Savus* (Save), which passed through it, and consisted of the southeastern part of the ancient Pannonia. Metropolis, SISCIA (now Sisseck), on an island in the river *Colapis* (now Kulpa), near its junction with the Save. It was here that Theodosius defeated Maximus in 388. *Sirmium* (now Sirmich), southeast in the province, on the Save, was one of the most considerable cities of the empire. It was the birthplace of several emperors: important councils were held there, until it was burnt down and destroyed by the Huns in the fifth century. *Cibalis* (now Svilei), northwest, was the battlefield where Constantine vanquished Licinius, in 314; and at *Mursa*, further northwest, on the banks of the Drave, Constantius defeated Magnentius, A. D. 351, in a tremendous battle, which deprived the empire of 54,000 of its bravest warriors. *Acincum* or *Aquincum*, so called from its hot springs (now OldOfen, near Buda), on the Danube, was the principal city of the military district Valeria (45), and contained arsenals and manufactures of arms, like Sirmium.

III. PANNONIA SECUNDA, or *Inferior*, west of Valeria, consisted only of the western part of the ancient Pannonia Inferior, the southern district of which had been dismembered, in order to form the province of Savia. It extended westward, to the great lake of *Pelissa* or *Balaton* (now Platten See). BREGETIO (now Szony, near Comorn), on the Danube, where Valentinian I. died in 375, is supposed to have been the metropolis of the province.

IV. PANNONIA PRIMA, or *Superior*, west of the former, consisted mostly of the ancient province of that name. The metropolis was probably SABARIA (now lying in ruins near Sarvar, on the Raab). *Pætovium* (now Pettau), southwest on the Drave, near the border of Noricum, is celebrated by the second great victory which Theodosius gained over the fleeing troops of Maximus, three days after their first defeat at Siscia, in 388.

Vindobona or *Vindomina* (now imperial Vienna), and

Carnuntum (now Presburg), both on the Danube, are often mentioned in the military history of the emperors.

48. V. NORICUM RIPENSE, west of Pannonia Prima, from which it was separated by Mount *Cetius* (now Kalemberg, near Vienna), extended, as its name indicates, along the banks of the Danube. Metropolis LAUREACUM (now Lorch), on the river. A Roman squadron of galleys and armed barks were stationed here to observe the movements of the Barbarians on the northern bank, and oppose their passage. This city had manufactures of bucklers. *Boiodurum* or *Boitro* (now Innstadt, opposite to Passau), on the border of Rhætia, was likewise a town important on account of its military position.

VI. NORICUM MEDITERRANEUM, south of the former, comprised the southern part of the ancient province of Noricum. Its metropolis is supposed to have been VIRUNUM (now in ruins near Klagenfurth), on the Drave.

49. DIOCESE OF ITALY.—This diocese, situated north of the country whose name it bore, did not extend much farther south than the limits of the ancient Cisalpine Gaul; but it embraced besides, all the ancient Rhætia and Vindelicia, between the Alps and the Danube. It was governed by a Vicar, and divided into seven provinces: 1st, *Venetia*, with *Istria;* 2d, *Emilia;* 3d, *Liguria;* 4th, *Flaminia*, with *Picenum Annonarium;* 5th, *Alpes Cottiæ;* 6th, *Rhætia Prima;* and 7th, *Rhætia Secunda.* The four first were governed by Consulars, and the five latter by Presidents. A military Duke was charged with the defence of the two Rhætiæ; only Rhætia Secunda touched the frontier line on the Rhine. We follow their geographical order from the north, southward.

50. I. RHÆTIA SECUNDA, on the north of the diocese, was formed of the ancient Vindelicia, whose metropolis, AUGUSTA VINDELICORUM (now Augsburg) on the *Licus* (Lech), still preserved its pre-eminence in the new province.

II. RHÆTIA PRIMA, on the south of the former, consisted of the ancient Rhætia Propria, which was separated from

Italy by the Rhætian Alps—*Alpes Rhætiæ*—metropolis CURIA (now Chur in the Grisons), at the base of Mount Splügen.

51. III. THE COTTIAN ALPS, *Alpes Cottiæ*, southwest of Rhætia, in the midst of the most towering pinnacles of the Alps, partly lying in Italy, partly in Gaul, preserved its name from the time of Augustus, who had graciously permitted the petty king Cottius to rule in this small country. When Nero afterwards reduced it to a Roman province, it retained the name of its last king. Metropolis, SEGUSIO (now Suza), at the base of Mount Cenis, one of the most important defiles, from Gaul into Italy. Charlemagne crossed Mount Cenis, and defeated the Lombards at Suza in 774. Hannibal had crossed over *Mons Matrona*, farther southwest, and descended toward the springs of the Padus.

IV. LIGURIA, on the east of the Cottian Alps, was an extensive, fertile, and beautiful province, which did not only consist of the narrow, rugged, coast land of ancient Liguria, hemmed in between the Alps and the sea, but it extended over the central part of Cisalpine Gaul (the present Lombardy and Piedmont). MEDIOLANUM (now Milan), was then both the metropolis of the province, and the capital of the western Empire, (42), and its archiepiscopal see was independent of the Patriarch of Rome. *Asta* (now Asti), on the Tanarus, a strongly fortified town, to which Honorius fled for safety when Alaric and his Visigoths invaded Italy, in 403. At a short distance west of Asta, on the Tanarus, lay *Pollentia* (now Pollenza), where the Vandal Stilicho, then Roman general, hurrying to the succor of the besieged Emperor, defeated Alaric in a great battle, and drove him back over the Alps.

52. V. VENETIA, on the east of Liguria, and separated from the diocese of Illyricum by the Julian Alps, *Alpes Juliæ*, by which the Goths penetrated into Italy, had preserved its ancient name, and comprised, besides, the beautiful peninsula of *Istria*. Its metropolis was AQUILEIA, at the head of the Adriatic gulf, near the mouth of the *Sontius* (Isonzo). Being

situated at the point where all the roads to Italy unite from east and northeast, this city obtained the highest importance, and was considered as the bulwark of Italy. Hence it was that so many battles were fought beneath its walls. It was here that Constantine II. fell, in the war against his brother Constance, in 340; Theodosius defeated here Maximus for the third time, in 388, and afterwards he gained here another victory over Eugenius, in 394. Aquileia passed unscathed through all these storms, but at the invasion of Attila and his Huns in 452, it was taken by assault, after the most desperate defence, and levelled to the ground, never to rise again; its ruins are still seen, near Grado.—*Verona*, on the southwest of the province, in a strong position on the *Athesis* (now Adige), beheld the second defeat and flight of Alaric and his myriads, by Stilicho, in 403, but on the irruption of the Huns it was ruthlessly destroyed, together with all the neighboring cities, *Patavium* (now Padua), *Vicetia* (now Vicenza), *Altinum*, *Concordia*, and others, but soon rebuilt. The fleeing inhabitants sought refuge in the midst of the lagunes of the Adriatic coast, where they laid the foundation of the proud Republic of Venice, in 452.

53. VI. ÆMILIA, southwest of Venetia, contained the greater part of the ancient *Cispadane Gaul*, and received its name from the *Via Æmilia*, the great military road, which passed through its territory, and led from *Ariminium* to PLACENTIA (now Piacenza), its metropolis, situated on the right bank of the river Padus (Po).

VIII. Flaminia, southeast of Æmilia, extended along the coast of the Adriatic, and contained the southeastern part of Gallia Cispadana, toward the mouth of the Po, the greater part of the ancient Umbria, and the coast land of the ancient *Picenum*, which at this period, on account of its exuberant fertility and high cultivation, was called *Picenum Annonarium*. The province itself received its new name from the Flaminian high road, *Via Flaminia*, which, from the northern gate of Rome, ran across Mount Apennine to *Ariminium*,

one of its larger cities. The metropolis was the celebrated RAVENNA (42).

54. DIOCESE OF ROME.—This diocese embraced all central and southern Italy, and all the islands, great and small, that lie off the Italian coast. Though it bore the name of the capital of the empire, and was, no doubt, the ordinary residence of the vicar who governed it, yet its administration was nevertheless almost entirely independent of the Præfect of the City of Rome—*præfectus urbis*; the few exceptions we mention below (55). The diocese had ten provinces, which, according to their rank, followed thus: 1st, *Campania*; 2d, *Tuscia*; 3d, *Umbria*; 4th, *Sicilia*; 5th, *Apulia* with *Calabria*; 6th, *Bruttium* with *Lucania*; 7th, *Samnium*; 8th, *Sardinia*; 9th, *Corsica*; 10th, *Valeria*. The four first were governed by Consulars, the fifth and sixth by Correctors, and the four last by Presidents. We describe them in the order from north to south.

55. I. TUSCIA (Tuscany), on the northwest of the diocese, held its ancient name and territory. It was divided into *Annonary* and *Suburbicary*; but the limits of the two jurisdictions are unknown. *Tuscia Suburbicaria*, like Picenum of the same name, were considered as dependences of the city of Rome, and were subjected to her præfect, whose jurisdiction seems to have extended for one hundred miles (*ad centesimum lapidem*) around the old mistress of the world. FLORENTIA (Florence), on the *Arnus* (Arno), was the metropolis. *Fæsulæ* (Fiesole), on Mount Apennine, near Florence, where, in the valley of *Mucro* (now Mugrone), Stilicho surrounded and annihilated the immense army of Radagaisus, in 406. It was at the border of this province, between the *Saxa Rubra* (Red Rocks) and the bridge *Milvius*, now the well known Ponte Molle, over the Tiber, at 6 miles distance from Rome, where Maxentius was defeated and perished in battle against Constantine, in 312.

II. UMBRIA, or *Picenum Suburbicarium*, between Tuscia on the west, and Picenum Annonarium on the east, was formed

of that part of ancient Umbria which extended on the western slope of Mount Apennine, and bordered on the ancient Sabini, in the neighborhood of Rome; it formed afterwards, during the Middle Ages, the duchy of Spoletium, and was called *Suburbicarium* because it depended on the præfect of the city. SPOLETUM or *Spoletium* (now Spoleto), in a strong position on the Apennines, and commanding the fertile valley of the *Tinia*, seems to have been the metropolis.

56. III. VALERIA, south of Picenum Suburbicarium, consisted of the ancient Sabini and part of Latium, and received its name from the Valerian military road, *Via Valeria*, which passed by *Tibur* and *Alba Fucentia*, to *Corfinium*, through the Sabini to the Peligni, and northward along the coast of Picenum. This Valeria must not be confounded with the other already mentioned as the military frontier of the diocese of Illyricum (45 and 47). Metropolis, AMITERNUM (now Amiterno, near Aquila), southeast of Spoletium, in the highest range of the Apennines. The ancient Latium—*Latium Vetus*—the cradle of Roman power, lay southwest of Valeria, and was not numbered among the provinces, being administered by the præfect of the city.

IV. SAMNIUM, east of Valeria, had preserved its ancient name, and extended to the coast of the Adriatic. CORFINIUM (now S. Pelino), near the *Aternus*, is supposed to have been its metropolis.

57. V. CAMPANIA, south of Samnium, had likewise retained its ancient name, and its high reputation for fertility and enjoyment, though it suffered terribly from the Gothic war in 410, and became then the grave of the Visigoths as it formerly had been of the Carthaginians under Hannibal.[14] NEAPOLIS (Na-

[14] "The prostrate south to her destroyer yields
Her boasted titles and her golden fields;
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and skies of azure hue,
Scent the new fragrance of the opening rose,
And quaff the pendant vintage as it grows."

ples), on its splendid bay at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, was the most important city of the province, and, no doubt, its metropolis. *Beneventum*, on the southeast of Naples, had preserved both its rank and population. Since Vesuvius had become a burning volcano, Campania seemed to be more fertile than before; the exuberant soil of Capua, Nola, and Neapolis, afforded some consolation for the loss of the cities that lay buried under ashes and lava; the inhabitants were wealthy; the commerce flourishing, and the islands on the coast were adorned with palaces and pleasure houses.

VI. APULIA, northeast of Campania, formed one province together with CALABRIA, southeast, along the shores of the Adriatic. LUCERIA (now Lucera), in the great Apulian plain, seems to have been the metropolis. *Tarentum*, on the gulf of the same name, was the most flourishing city in Calabria.

VII. BRUTTIUM occupied the western peninsula of southern Italy, opposite to Sicily, and formed one province together with LUCANIA, on the north, between Bruttium and Campania. CONSENTIA (now Cosenza), in Bruttium, may have been the metropolis; it was here that Alaric, after the pillage of Rome, died in the midst of his victories, and was buried, with his splendid spoils, in the bed of the small river *Busentinus*, whose waters the Barbarians had led off, and afterwards restored to their natural channel, A. D. 410. PÆSTUM (now a swamp, with magnificent temple ruins, near the village of Capaccio), on the Posidonian gulf, was the principal town of Lucania.

58. VIII. SICILIA (Sicily), the most fertile and beautiful of the islands of Italy, formed a province which comprehended likewise the smaller islands situated on its coast. SYRACUSÆ (Syracuse), on the eastern coast, though much reduced from its former splendor and circumscribed to the small island of Ortygia, was still the metropolis of the island. LILYBÆUM (now Marsala), on the western promontory of that name (now Cape Boco), was early occupied by the Vandals from Africa.

IX. SARDINIA, on the northwest of Sicily, though almost

of the same extent and fertility as that island, was yet a province of little importance; its metropolis was CABALIS (now Cagliari), on a gulf of the southern coast; its maritime towns were flourishing, but the interior not cultivated.

CORSICA, north of Sardinia, was, after Valeria, the smallest province of the diocese. ALERIA, a small town with a port, on the eastern coast, seems to have been the metropolis. The island was celebrated for honey and oysters.

59. DIOCESE OF AFRICA.—This diocese, whose extent we have mentioned above (44), contained, like those of Asia and Macedonia (18 and 36), a proconsulate, consisting of Africa proper or Carthage, and, besides, five provinces: 1st, *Byzacena;* 2d, *Numidia;* 3d, *Tripolitana;* 4th, *Mauritania Sitifensis;* 5th, *Mauritania Cæsariensis.* The two first were governed by Consulars, and the three following by Presidents. The military Count of Africa had two Dukes under his command, one in Tripolitana, and the other in Mauritania Cæsariensis, to keep in check the roving mountaineers on Mount Atlas. We shall now describe the African provinces in their geographical order from east to west, beginning with the African Proconsulate.

60. PROCONSULATE OF AFRICA PROPRIA consisted of Carthage and the ancient Zeugitana; it was then the granary of Rome, as Egypt was that of Constantinople. It was governed by a proconsul, who did not stand under the jurisdiction of the vicar of Africa, but immediately under the prætorial præfect of Italy. CARTHAGE, the metropolis, had risen from her ruins, and, though she might yield to the imperial prerogative of Constantinople, to the trade of Alexandria or to the splendor of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the west, as the Rome of the African world. She contained the manufactures, arms and treasures of six provinces and schools and gymnasia of high repute; her ports, public buildings and institutions were magnificent; but the reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and faithless char-

acter. Their luxury and licentious manners had corrupted their morals and extinguished their courage; and in 439 that immense city yielded to the daring and headlong bravery of Genseric and his Vandals, who soon founded a Barbaric kingdom on the ruins of the richest provinces of the western empire.

Utica (now in ruins near Porto Farina), on the northern coast; *Hadrumetum* (now Hamamet), on the eastern coast.

61. I. TRIPOLITANA, the most eastern of the African dioceses, on the south and east of the great Syrtis, received its name from its three principal cities all situated on the coast. LEPTIS MAGNA (now Lebida), its metropolis; *Œa* (now Tripolis), east of Leptis; *Sabrata* (now Sabart or old Tripolis), west of Œa.

II. BYZACENA, west of the lesser Syrtis, with the metropolis BYZACIUM, formerly *Tacape* (now Kabes), situated on the coast opposite to the large island of Meninx (now Gerbe).

62. III. NUMIDIA, west of Africa proper, had retained its ancient name, but only the eastern part of the old province. CONSTANTINA, formerly *Cirta*, the ancient capital of the Numidian kings, obtained her modern name from Constantine, and was the metropolis of the province. *Hippone* or *Hippo Regius* (now Bona), a strongly fortified city on the coast, was the archiepiscopal seat of St. Augustine, who died there during the siege of the city by the Vandals in 430.

IV. MAURITANIA SITIFENSIS, west of Numidia, consisted of the western part of that ancient province and of a small part of Mauritania. Its metropolis was SIFETI (now Setif), in the interior of the country.

V. MAURITANIA CÆSARIENSIS, west of the former, comprehended the greater part of the ancient province of Mauritania Orientalis, and took the name of its metropolis CÆSAREA (now Vacur), on the coast of the Mediterranean opposite to the Balearic islands.

Præfecture of the Gauls.

63. Extent and Divisions.—The præfecture of the Gauls comprehended besides the Transalpine Gaul, 1st, *Old Spain*, with the *Balearic* islands, and *Mauritania Tingitana* in the northwest of Africa; 2d, the southern portion of the island of *Britain* as far north as the Antoninian Wall. These three large countries formed three dioceses—Spain, the Gauls, and Bretain, which were subdivided in twenty-nine provinces, and even thirty, as we shall see below (69).

64. Diocese of Hispania.—It was governed by a Vicar, and contained seven provinces; 1st, *Bætica;* 2d, *Lusitaniâ;* 3d, *Gallicia*; 4th, *Tarraconensis;* 5th, *Carthaginiensis;* 6th, *Tingitana;* 7th, *Baleares Insulæ.* The three first were governed by Consulars, and the four others by Presidents. We will describe them from south to north.

65. I. Tingitana or *Mauritania Tingitana*, separated on the east by the river Malva, from the Cæsarean Mauritania of the Italian præfecture, extended westward to the Atlantic Ocean, and owed its name to its metropolis Tingis (Tangier), on the western entrance of the Straits of Gades (now Gibraltar), which separated it from Spain.

II. Bætica (afterwards in Arabic: *Vandalos*, *Andalos*, now Andalusia), consisting of the southernmost part of Spain, received its name from the river Bætis (by the Arabs afterwards called Wady-al-Kebir, or Guadalquiver), which flowed through that fertile and beautiful province. Hispilis (now Seville), on the left bank of the river, was the metropolis. *Corduba* (now Cordova) was the next city in rank.

III. Lusitania, northwest of Bœtica, along the coast of the Atlantic, had for metropolis Emerita Augusta (now Merida), on the river *Anas* (by the Arabs called Wady-Ana, now Guadiana).

66. IV. Carthaginiensis, northeast of Bœtica, along the coast of the Mediterranean, obtained its name from Carthago Nova (now Carthagena).

V. TARRACONENSIS, north of the former, with the metropolis TARRACO (now Tarragona). This was the most important city in Spain during the dominion of the Romans, and no doubt the residence of the Vicar and the military Count of the diocese.

VI. GALLÆCIA (now Galicia), on the northwest of the Peninsula, received its name from the warlike people, the Gallæci or Gallaïci, who so long had defended their independence against the Romans. Metropolis, BRACARA AUGUSTA (now Braga), north of the *Durius* (Duero).

VII. INSULÆ BALEARES, situated opposite the eastern coast of Spain. PALMA or *Balearis Major* (now Mayorca), was perhaps the metropolis. PORTUS MAGONIS (now Port-Mahon) was the principal town in *Balearis Minor* (now Minorca). Spain was the most flourishing province of the empire in the fourth century. Many profound philosophers and poets of bold and lofty genius were natives of Spain; and the mechanical arts flourished without degrading the high spirit of the nation. It furnished the empire with brave and hardy warriors, with brass, iron, gold, silver and noble steeds; of wine and oil there was abundance; in the less fertile parts of the country flax and spartum were cultivated.[15]

67. DIOCESE OF THE GAULS.—This diocese was governed by a Vicar, and embraced all Transalpine Gaul between the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Alps, the Rhine, the British Ocean and the Atlantic; it was divided into seventeen provinces after the *notitia imperii;* but the first of these provinces (69) was already subdivided into two others at the period of our map. These provinces were according to their importance: 1st, *Viennensis*, towards the close of the fourth century divided into *prima* and *secunda;* 2d, *Lugdunensis Prima;* 3d, *Germania Prima;* 4th, *Germania Secunda;* 5th, *Belgica Prima;* 6th, *Belgica Secunda;* 7th, *Alpes Maritimæ;* 8th, *Alpes Penninæ* and *Grajæ;* 9th, *Maxima Sequanorum;* 10th,

[15] A kind of broom for making cables, &c.

Aquitania Prima; 11th, *Aquitania Secunda;* 12th, *Novempopulana;* 13th, *Narbonensis Prima;* 14th, *Narbonensis Secunda;* 15th, *Lugdunensis Secunda;* 16th, *Lugdunensis Tertia;* 17th, *Lugdunensis Quarta* or *Senonia.*

Germania Prima, Belgica Secunda, and Maxima Sequanorum, were occupied by Dukes with their troops for the defence of the frontiers; another Duke had the inspection of the northwestern sea-coast against the pirates. The entire coast, from the *Scaldis* on the east, to *Gobæum Promontorium*—the western cape—were divided into two naval districts: *Armoricanus et Nericanus Tractus.* We shall now shortly describe these seventeen provinces in their order from southwest to northeast.

68. I. NOVEMPOPULANA, later *Vasconia* (now Gascogne), was situated at the base of the Pyrenees, and on the southwest of Gaul and Aquitania, whose third province it formed; and owed its name to the nine Gallic tribes that occupied it. Metropolis, ELUSA, in the centre of the province; a title which it surrendered in the ninth century to the town *Ausci* (now Auch), on the southeast.

II. AQUITANIA SECUNDA, north of the former, along the coast of the ocean, extended to the Liger (now Loire), with BURDIGALA (now Bordeaux), on the Garumna (Garonne) for its metropolis.

III. AQUITANIA PRIMA, east of Secunda, with the metropolis BITURIGES or *Avaricum* (Bourges), in the north of the province.

69. IV. NARBONENSIS PRIMA, south of Aquitania Prima. ran along the Gallic gulf from the Pyrenees to the *Rhodanus* (Rhone). Narbonensis had formerly been a vast province, and given its name to the four following provinces. Its metropolis was NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne), on the coast.

V. VIENNENSIS or *Narbonensis Tertia*, east of the former, extended along the left bank of the Rhone from its mouth till its exit from Lake *Leman.* It became divided into two provinces toward the close of the fourth century, as we have mentioned above (67). Viennensis Prima on the north with the

metropolis VIENNA on the Rhone, and Viennensis Secunda in the south, with the metropolis ARELAS or *Arelate* (Arles), a beautiful and populous city, the residence of the Prætorial Præfect for the Gauls. The poet Ausonius calls it the Gallic Rome—*Gallula Roma Arelas.*

VI. NARBONENSIS SECUNDA, east of Viennensis, with the metropolis, AQUÆ SEXTIÆ (now Aix in Provence), which took its name from its celebrated hot springs. *Massilia* (now Marseilles) the ancient Greek colony, and flourishing commercial town. *Forum Iulii* (now Frejus), on the southeast, served as a naval station for the imperial fleets.

VII. ALPES MARITIMÆ, east of the former, along the ridge of the Alpine chain. Metropolis EBURODUNUM (now Embrun), near the source of the *Druentia* (Durance).

VIII. ALPES PENNINÆ ET GRAJÆ, northeast of the former, were, together with the Alpes Maritimæ, considered as one of the provinces of the Narbonensis. Metropolis DARANTASIA, (now Moûtier in the valley of the Tarantaise), on the upper Isara, in the midst of the highest Alps.

70. IX. LUGDUNENSIS PRIMA, north of Viennensis, so called from its metropolis LUGDUNUM (now Lyons), on the junction of the *Arar* (Saone) and the Rhone, one of the largest and most important cities in Gaul. *Matisco* (now Macon), on the *Arar*, and *Augustodunum* (now Autun), more northwest, had imperial manufactures of armor and arrows. The whole of central Gaul had in the olden time been called *Celtica*, afterwards Lugdunensis was substituted, and comprehended besides the Prima, the following three provinces:

X. LUGDUNENSIS QUARTA, northwest of the Prima, more frequently called SENONIA, from its metropolis SENONES (now Sens), on the *Icauna* (now Yonne). PARISII, earlier *Lutetia Parisiorum* (now Paris) on the *Sequana* (Seine), began already to have great importance from the time of the residence of the Emperor Julian, the Apostate, in A. D. 355. Of the numerous Roman ruins of ancient Paris, only the relics of the palace of Julian and the catacombs are left.

XI. LUGDUNENSIS TERTIA, west of the former, embraced all the peninsula of Armorica, whose warlike inhabitants during the distress of the empire threw off the yoke, and recovered their independence—Metropolis CÆSARODUNUM or *Turones* (now Tours), on the Loire.

XII. LUGDUNENSIS SECUNDA, northeast of the former. Metropolis ROTOMAGUS (now Rouen), on the Seine.

71. XIII. BELGICA SECUNDA, all along the *Fretum Gallicum* or the Channel. Metropolis DURO-CORTORUM or *Remi* (now Rheims), with military depôts and manufactures of arms. —*Suessiones* (Soissons), and *Ambianum* (Amiens), on the Somme, had likewise celebrated manufactures of defensive armor and military engines.

XIV. BELGICA PRIMA, east of the former. Metropolis TREVERI (now Trèves), with manufactures of arms and military engines, had been one of the richest and most considerable cities in Gaul, and the residence of the Prætorial Præfect of the diocese, before it had been transferred to Arles during the war with the Franks.

XV. MAXIMA SEQUANORUM, southeast of Belgica Prima. Metropolis VESONTIO (Besançon), on the *Dubis* (Dubs).

XVI. GERMANIA PRIMA or *Superior*, east of Belgica Prima, along the banks of the Rhine. MAGONTIACUM (Mayence), on the left bank of that river, was the metropolis. It was protected by the long line of fortifications which Hadrian had drawn from the *Mænus* (Mayn) across the present Franconia to REGIUM (Ratisbon), on the Danube. *Argentoratum* (now Strasburgh), more south, likewise on the river, was the residence of a military count, with depots and arsenals. Near the city a great battle took place with the united kings of the Alemanni in 357, in which Julian defeated them gallantly and drove them across the river.

XVII. GERMANIA SECUNDA or *Inferior*, northwest of the former, extended along the left bank of the Rhine until its discharge in the German Sea. Metropolis COLONIA AGRIPPINA (Cologne), on the left bank of the river.—*Asciburgium* (now

Asburgh), *Bonna* (now Bonn).—*Confluentes* (now Coblentz), on the junction of the Moselle with the Rhine.—*Borbetomagus* or *Vormacia* (now Worms). All these cities on the Rhine, and those on the upper Danube, such as Ratisbon, *Batava-Castra* (Passau), and Vienna, had in their origin been Roman camps—*castra-stativa*—of the sixteen legions, that, for centuries, were stationed on the borders of Germany. The neighboring Gallic and German inhabitants had successively settled around these bulwarks, for their protection and commerce. Foreign merchants from distant countries had there opened their markets and fairs, and thus those wealthy and powerful cities arose, which later during the Middle Ages as free imperial towns—*Freie Reichsstädte*—were to form their armed confederacies and bear down on the spear-point the despotism of the proud nobility of the Germanic empire. During the civil wars between the wrangling sons of Constantine (340–355), the Roman garrisons had been recalled from the Rhine, and the flourishing provinces of Gaul were thus exposed to the incursions of the German barbarians beyond the river. Swarms of Franks and Alemanni (77) now crossed and spread devastation as far as the Loire. Forty-five populous cities, Tongres, Cologne, Trèves, Worms, Spire, and Strasburgh, besides a far greater number of open towns and villages were pillaged and for the most part reduced to ashes. The Alemanni already began to establish themselves on the left bank of the Rhine, and the Franks occupied *the island of the Batavians* (now Holland) and Toxandria (Brabant), when Julian, the young emperor, appeared with his legions, and in the brilliant campaigns of 356–358, defeated the Alemanni at Strasburgh, driving them headlong across the Rhine, and making a treaty with the powerful Franks, permitted them to settle down in the depopulated province of Germania Secunda (now Belgium), where they remained faithful allies of the Romans in the later wars with Attila and the Huns (451), until they, under Clovis, burst forth in 486 to share the spoils of the perishing Empire of the West.

72. Diocese of Britain.—Roman Britain, which em-

braced the whole of modern England, and the Lowlands of Scotland, as far as the wall of Agricola, between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde, formed a diocese governed by a Vicar, and was subdivided into five provinces, about whose position, borders, and cities, we have very imperfect information. These provinces were, 1st, *Maxima Cæsariensis;* 2d, *Valentia;* 3d, *Britannia Prima;* 4th, *Britannia Secunda;* 5th, *Flavia Cæsariensis.* The two first were governed by Consulars, and the three others by Presidents. Two military consuls and a duke were stationed in this far-off diocese, for its defence against the warlike Caledonians in the unsubdued Highlands on the north of the island. We begin our description with the south.

73. I. Flavia Cæsariensis,[16] which received its imperial name from Flavius Constantius Chlorus, the father of the great Constantine, contained the eastern part of the island, the Mercia and East Anglia of the Anglo-Saxons in the 7th century. The the *Abus* (Tyne), divided it from Maxima Cæsariensis on north, the *Sabrina* (Severn), from Britannia Secunda on the west, and the *Tamesis* (Thames), from Britannia Prima on the south. The metropolis must have been either Londinium (London), on the Tamesis, or Verulamium (St. Albans, in Hertfordshire), one of the earliest and most important colonies of the Romans.

II. Britannia Prima embraced the south of the island, from the mouth of the Tamesis westward to the *Sabrianum Æstuarium* (the Bristol Channel). Metropolis Durovernum (now Canterbury), on the southeast of the province. *Venta Belgarum* (now Winchester) was a thriving colony of Belgians, set-

[16] Great doubt exists with regard to the position of Flavia Cæsariensis, and Britannia Prima. We follow here Spruner, in the latest edition of his Mediæval Atlas, and in his Atlas Antiquus. Professor Ansart, in his translation of the Historical Atlas of Kruse (1834), and Dr. Wiltsch, in his excellent Ecclesiastical Atlas (1844), have both placed Flavia Cæsariensis in the south, so that the two Britanniæ lie east and west together.

tled in the island. *Dubræ* (Dover), on the cliffs of the *Fretum Gallicum* (British Channel), opposite to the Gallic harbor *Itius* (now Calais), the nearest passage across.

BRITANNIA SECUNDA formed the western mountainous portion of the island, between the Severn and the Irish Channel, the modern Wales. Metropolis may have been ISCA SILURUM (now Caerleon), on the mouth of the Severn, the ancient capital of the *Silures.*

IV. MAXIMA CÆSARIENSIS lay on the north of the Humber (Northumbria), as far as the wall of Hadrian on the Tyne. Metropolis EBORACUM (now York), in the centre of the province, the seat of the vicar of Britain. It was a large, well fortified, and flourishing city, the centre of all the Roman military forces and arsenals in the island. Both Septimus Severus and Constantius Chlorus, made a long sojourn in York, and both died there.

V. VALENTIA was the northernmost part of the British diocese, and comprehended the whole district included between the southern wall of Hadrian, and the earlier outer wall of Agricola on the Forth, between Edinburgh and Glasgow; thus it comprised the later county of Northumberland, and the Scottish Border and Lowlands. It was only a military line, without any regular Roman settlements.[17] The great Julius Agricola, after his brilliant victories against the Caledonians, at the base of the Grampians (the highlands of Perth), built the first fortification across the narrow interval of forty miles, which he secured by a line of military stations. Yet it proved but an insecure protection, and Hadrian, therefore, in his enthusiasm for architecture, built in 132, the beautiful double wall, now in its ruins, called the *Picts' Wall*, running for eighty Roman miles, from the mouth of the Eden river

[17] The masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe, turned with contempt from the gloomy hills, assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by troops of naked barbarians.—*Gibbon, chapter* 1.

and the Frith of Solway, near Carlisle, north of the Tyne, to Newcastle. It was a magnificent work, with eighty-one strong castles, between which were located numerous smaller towers. Four gates can still be traced. Between the two ranges of walls ran a Roman military road of immense flag-stones, lined with extensive barracks, quarters for cavalry, and fortified storehouses and arsenals. Interesting inscriptions of the old legions have been found, for instance: *Ala Prima Astorum*, and *Ala Saviniana*, *Ala Petriana* (all three cavalry), *Cohors Prima Batavorum*, *Cohors Prima Tungrorum*, *Cohors Quarta Gallorum*, *Cohors Secunda Dalmatorum*, *Cohors Prima Ælia Dacorum*, which show how many different nationalities were gathered beneath the Roman eagles, and joined company together. During the happy reign of Antoninus Pius, the Romans advanced once more into Caledonia, and the earlier embankment of Agricola was now restored, by a turf rampart, erected on solid foundations of stone. It was considered as the *limes imperii*, and called *Vallum Antonini*. The district was, however, soon invaded by the barbarians from the sea-shore, and though Count Theodosius reconquered it, and gave it its name Valentia, in honor of the Emperor Valentinian, yet it was definitively lost for the empire in 395, when the legionaries could hardly defend themselves behind the still stronger walls of Hadrian; and the daring Picts and Scots carried their depredations among the peaceful and disarmed Britons on the Humber.

Such was the state of the Roman Empire, in A. D. 395.

II. THE WORLD OF THE BARBARIANS,

AT THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

74. General Division.—The Barbarian or extra-Roman World, during the fourth century, immediately before, or during the great migration of the northern tribes across the Danube and the Rhine, between A. D. 376 and 410, can, with

regard to the relations of those nations to the Roman Empire, be divided into three great parts. 1st. The countries situated in the centre and north of Europe and the northwest of Asia, which were inhabited by *Celts*, *Germans*, *Scandinavians*, *Slavi*, *Finns*, and *Huns*. 2d. The countries in Asia, south of Mount Caucasus, on the eastern frontiers of the empire, occupied by *Chazars*, *Tartars*, *Armenians*, *Persians*, and *Sarazens*. 3d. The regions of northern Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic, and extending south of the empire, toward the great Libyan desert, with their wild Moorish tribes of *Amazirghi*, *Kabyles*, *Berbers*, and other mixed *Æthiopian* races.

I. Northern Countries.

75. Regions and Principal Nations.—On the north and northeast of the Roman frontiers beyond the Rhine, the Danube, the Black Sea, and the chain of Mount Caucasus, vast plains extend to the shores of the ocean and its many gulfs, which embrace the European Continent on the north. These plains are, on the east, bordered by the high range of Mount Oural, which only by a swelling hill country, forming the water-shed of numerous rivers, is connected on the southwest with the Carpathian and Bohemian Mountains of Central Europe. In the north and northwest these plains were then covered with dense and sombre forests. On the southeast, toward the Pontus and the Caspian, they formed open steppes, with fertile pasture grounds along the banks of the rivers, where from times immemorial, Scythian and Sarmatian nations roamed as nomades with their herds and flocks. All these countries were but little known to the ancients. The Greeks and Romans were ignorant of their limits; and they designated them confusedly under the vague denominations of *Germania*, *Sarmatia Europæa*, *Sarmatia Asiatica*, and *Scythia*. During the first two centuries of our era, while the empire still subsisted in its full force, the Romans cared little about the revolutions of those distant regions, except only those of the Ger-

mans, who were continually attacking the Roman garrisons on the frontier lines of the Rhine and the Danube.

The conquest of Germany, and the extension of the Roman frontiers to the Baltic—*Sinus Codanus* or *Mare Suevicum*—had been a favorite idea in the times of Augustus. But the terrible defeat of the Roman legions, under Varus, on the banks of the *Luppia* (Lippe), near Paderborn, in the year 9 A. D., and the little advantage of the later avenging expeditions of Drusus and Germanicus, made the emperors give up those fond hopes, and henceforth they circumscribed themselves to the defence of the *river lines* and the Hadrian walls, between the Mayn and Danube beyond them. But the Germanic nations, who separately had been vanquished and repelled by Roman discipline, began, during the third century, to form large confederacies of kindred tribes: the Franks on the lower, and the Alemanni (all men) on the upper Rhine; the Quadi, Marcomanni, and Boioarii (Bavarians) on the Danube; the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Gepidæ on the Pontus. Like the waves of the tempestuous ocean, against the opposing dikes, they continued their attacks against the weakened and demoralized empire with various success, until, in the year 376, the Huns, from the Volga, subdued all the eastern Germanic and Sclavonic nations, and uniting with them, fell upon the more western tribes, and forced them, by a mighty, simultaneous effort, to cross the rivers, and to seek new settlements in the civilized provinces of the South. Thus the sudden appearance of the Huns in A. D. 375 is the signal for the general irruption of the Germans, and the dismemberment of the Roman Empire.

We shall now attempt to describe the nations of independent Germany in their seats, immediately before that great event which changed the whole political position of Europe, and the empire of the Huns, under Balomir and Attila (376—451), at that time embracing the greater part of ancient Scythia and Sarmatia, from Mount Oural to the Danube, and to the very heart of Germany.

A.—GERMANIA

76. Its Extent.—Ancient Germany extended from the coasts of the Germanic Ocean and the Baltic, on the north, to the banks of the Danube on the south. On the west it bordered on the Rhine—though some Germanic tribes were early seated on the left bank of that river, and there mixed up with the Belgians. On the east, the Vistula and the Carpathians separated it nominally from Sarmatia. We say nominally, because so early as the third century the Gothic tribes from Scandinavia had already begun their migrations toward the Black Sea, and had, after the conquest of Sarmatia, formed those powerful *Germanic Empires* of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ, which extended the German tongue from the Rhine to the *Thanais* (Don).[18] The Romans being almost entirely unacquainted with the countries north of the Baltic, counted the large peninsula of Jutland—*Chersonesus Cimbrica*—the Danish Archipelago, and *Scandinavia* (Sweden and Norway), as part of Germany. Scandinavia they believed to be a dreary island, situated in the Northern Ocean—*Oceanus Septentrionalis*—and their poets frequently descant upon the horrors of the *Ultima Thule.*

77. Early Migrations.—Through the dim traditions of early ages we discover that different nations, descending from the table lands of Mount Caucasus, and the distant Himalaya, took a western direction toward Europe. They all concur to prove that that continent was originally peopled by four great streams of population from central Asia, which followed each other at intervals so distant and so distinct as to possess languages clearly separable from one another, though the common root of all is found in the Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. All these nations have, therefore, by modern

[18] This is the reason why some writers from the fourth century say that Germany comprised the whole country westward of the Thanais.

Philologians, been called the *Indo-Germanic Race.* The earliest of these nations, the *Pelasgi*, we meet already in the eighteenth century, B. C., occupying the Hesperian and Illyrian Peninsulas, that is, Italy and Greece, and the islands of the Egean. From the many Pelasgian tribes sprang the Greek, Illyrian, and Italian nationalities, and their languages. Greek and Latin stand as sisters in relation to the ancient Pelasgian mother tongue. The second migration, that of the *Celts*, and their kindred the *Cimmerians* (Cimbri), took a more northern direction, and settled in early times both in Spain, France and in the British Islands, where the Welsh still preserve the name of Kymri; other Cimbri seem to have taken possession of Jutland, whence they later migrated to Italy, and were destroyed by Marius (B. C. 101). The third race, the *Germanic tribes*, finding the south and west occupied by Pelasgians and Celts, settled in the centre and continued their conquests north against the Finns or Chudes, already from remote times inhabiting Scandinavia. In the east the Germans were, in several regions, mixed up with the *Sarmatian* or *Sclavonic* tribes, who form the fourth race, whose progress westward occurs in much later times, *i. e.*, the fourth and fifth centuries, and continues until the 11th and 12th, because the Sclavonians followed slowly in the track of the Germans, being themselves pushed on from the east by the Huns, and later by the Chazars and other fierce Turcoman tribes from beyond the Caspian. Numerous detached Sclavonic hordes settled in the abandoned lands between the Danube and the Baltic, and became the neighbors of the Germans on the Elbe and the Adriatic. It is from the branches of the German stem that, not only our immediate forefathers the Angles, Saxons and Danes, but also those of the other celebrated nations of modern Europe, unquestionably have descended. The German race was divided into two nationalities, the *Scandinavian* or *Norman*, and the *Dutch* (Deutch) or *Gothic.* To the first belong the Danes, Longobards (Lombards), Angles, Jutes, Swedes, Norwegians and Icelanders. To the main German stock the mighty people of

the Goths, the Souabians, the Bojoars (Bavarians), the Markomanni in Bohemia, the Thuringians in central Germany, the Franks on the Rhine, the Vandals, Burgundians, Herules, Rugians—all on the Baltic, the Vistula and Oder, the Frisians on the German Sea, and the Saxons on the Elbe, the neighbors of the Angles, Jutes and Danes, and partaking of their dialect, religion and manners.

All these tribes of the Germanic race resembled each other in their general character, although each had its particular virtues or vices: thus to make a distinction, we say that the Goth was noble, honest, and sober; the Vandal and Herule fierce and bloodthirsty rovers; the Aleman and Bavarian swaggering and intemperate; the Frank lively, voluptuous and treacherous; the Saxon sincere, daring, and always rough and ready.[19]

78. Description of the Country.—The general aspect of Germany during this period, was very different from what it is at the present day. It was then almost entirely covered with impenetrable forests, interspersed with pathless morasses and swamps, which rendered the atmosphere damp and cold. The banks of the lower Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe were marshy, and the entire western coast of Holland, Hanover and Holstein—which now after the exertions of fifty consecutive generations, by immense dikes and bulwarks, secure the rich

[19] The language of the Germans formed two distinct dialects, the high German—*Hoch-deutch*—and the low German—*Plat-deutch*. Of the first we possess the celebrated Gothic translation of the Gospels by Bishop Ulphilas, A. D. 348—88, in the Mœso-Gothic mother tongue—the oldest monument of the German language, and two highly interesting collections of Heroic songs—the Book of the Heroes or *Heldenbuch*, and the song of the Niebelungen, both from an early period of the middle ages. In the low Saxon, we have the Epic poem of *Reineke Fox*, the Saxon Mirror (*Sachsenspiegel*) and other poems. In the 12th century the Saxon dialect began to yield to the more polished dialect of Souabia, and the chivalrous poetry of the *minnesängers* (troubadours) which then rose to become the written language, while the old Saxon dwindled down to a vulgar dialect spoken in Hanover and Holstein.

pasture lands (marsk) against the waves of the Germanic Ocean, were, at that remote time, exposed to the continual inundations of the stormy element. The most celebrated of all the forests of Germany, which inspired the Romans with shuddering and dismay, was the Hercynian forest, *Hercynius Saltus*, extending from the sources of the Danube northward, between the Rhine and Mayn—the present Odenwald and Spessart—and crossing this river eastward through the whole breadth of Germany, north of Bohemia, joining the Carpathian range, and then descending upon the plains of Dacia or Moldau. It embraced thus all the central mountain-ranges of Germany, the Ertz, Fichtel and Riesen-Gebirge, though it appears that the Romans had likewise particular names for different parts of it.[20] Cæsar describes it as an impenetrable and dreary region, through which the reindeer, the elk, and the wild urus ranged at liberty, or were chased by the still wilder Souabian. With the change in the climate the former of these useful animals have now retired northward to the pole, and constitute the principal food and wealth of the Laplanders; while the *urus* (our ox) is still met with in the woods of eastern Poland.

"Who would leave the softer climate of Italy, Asia or Africa," says the terrified Roman, "or fix his abode in that country where nature offers nothing but scenes of deformity; where the land presents a dreary region, without form or culture, and if we except the affection of a native for his mother soil, without a single allurement to make life supportable!" Yet in open villages, on the outskirts of those green forests, on the banks of those majestic rivers, lived a handsome, healthy, noble race, whom the pigmy Romans in their arrogance and envy called BARBARIAN GIANTS; and whom modern classical pedants most injudiciously have compared with the savage *Redskins* of the American forests. No! the German Barbarians were made of steel of another temper!

[20] f. c. *Marciana Silva* for the Black forest—the *Schwartz-wald*—between the upper Rhine, and the sources of the Danube.

—a race endowed with brilliant qualities of mind and body, which excited the dread and admiration of the all-conquering Romans themselves; nay, history records no people who possessed noble capacities and qualifications, rule and order, a sublime patriotism, fidelity and chastity, in a greater proportion than the Germans. "There," says Tacitus, "no one smiles at vice, for in the Germans good morals effect *more*, than elsewhere good laws." This moral worth of the Germans, which beams through all their rudeness, their love of arms and strife, had its true basis in the sanctity of marriage and domestic happiness; for these two important features determined the morality of the ancient Germans, as they do now that of the modern Americans. The children of the Germans were to their parents the *dearest* pledges of love; nor was a trace to be found in Germany of the tyrannical power of the cruel Roman father over his children.

79. INSTITUTIONS.—In the institutions of the Germans we find already the origin of the Feudal System, which was entirely unknown among the Greeks and Romans of antiquity. The German lord—ædling—lives on his estate with his family, occupied with riding, hunting, feasting or fighting; he despises all mechanical pursuits, and leaves the care of his farms to his *lides* or serfs, who are personally freemen and well treated, but furnish their lord with grain and cattle. They are only vassals, while prisoners of war or criminals become real slaves, attendant upon their masters like the *servi* of the Romans. All the German ædlings, with shield and lance, accompanied by their vassals, assembled on horseback at their national diet—*mallum*—where they chose their king (*könig*) from the most powerful family. The king wears long flowing hair as his particular distinction, but his power is very circumscribed; and if unskilful or unfortunate in war, the nobles had the right to select another leader or *herzog* to lead them to battle. From these herzogs sprang afterwards the celebrated mayors of the palace—*mayores domus*—among the Franks. At these *malla*, the young nobles received their arms and steeds, the

early origin of the arming of the knight in later ages. Among the Germans the oldest son inherits the paternal estate, the younger brothers are only provided with shield, lance and war-horse, and then sent off to fight their fortune elsewhere. Here we have the origin of the armed retinue which surrounded the German nobles; for the young warriors would take military service at the estate or court of a neighboring chief, and thus become his sworn liegemen and follow his banner. The chiefs of highest note received the sword of justice, as Counts or *Grafen*, in the regions or *Gauen*, into which the valleys of Germany were divided, and they were later, after the conquest of the Roman provinces, rewarded with estates and territories which they held with military tenure, and thus the earliest form of feudality is established. The different German tribes were in continual hostility with one another, and their eternal feuds gave the greatest security to the Roman empire. Chieftains defeated at home, fled to the Romans and received aid to return sword in hand. Large bands of outlaws flocked together; the sword gave a support no less than the plough. Thus rose that celebrated class of warriors by the Germans called *Recken* or *Warägen* (Varogs), and by the Danes *Væringer* or armed refugees, who sought their fortune in foreign lands. All these homeless warriors formed the flower, the vanguard of those immense swarms of armed tribes of a hundred nations, both Germans, Scandinavians, and Sclavonians, whom we meet at the great migration in A. D. 376. The Germans fought with shield and lance, without heavy armor, in deep columns in the form of wedges. Their horse was formidable and much feared by the Romans on account of the select bodies of young archers, who were exercised to keep pace with the cavalry by laying hold of the manes of the horses while charging at full career. Cæsar owed his victory at Pharsalus to such a daring exploit of his auxiliary squadrons of German horse.

80. Nations of Germany.—The most celebrated tribes inhabiting that country immediately before their invasion of the Roman empire in the fifth century, were the following:

THE FRISIANS—*Frisii*—Friesen—inhabited the northwestern coasts, from the Mosa to the Eider, and higher north, to Jutland. The Frisian tribes had, no doubt, been driven toward the sea by the Saxons; yet on the low, swampy coast and the adjacent islands (now Holland and Friesland), they found a refuge, and were left to themselves. The whole nature of that country has now changed by the irruption of the sea; the lake *Flevo* formerly received the northern branch of the Rhine, but became transformed into the open gulf of Zuider-Sea. The *North* or *Strand Frisians* inhabited the coast of Schleswig—the West-wold—with its rich pasture lands (the Marsk), and the celebrated island of Helgoland—*Heiligland*, or Sacred Isle—at the mouth of the Elbe. There those hardy pirates had their naval stations, the sanctuaries of their idols, and their hoarded wealth, which they for centuries defended at the lance's point, against Danes and Saxons.

THE FRANKS—*Franci*—southeast of the Frisons (in the Prussian Rhine Provinces, Hassia, Nassau, and Belgium), from the *Scaldis* (Scheldt), and the Mosella to the *Visurgis* (Weser), formed a powerful confederation of the western German tribes, the Chamavi, Sicambri, Bructeri, Catti, and others mentioned by Tacitus, in the 1st century.[21] The Franks were divided into the *Ripuarii*, who remained on the banks of the Rhine, and westward as far as the *Mosa* (Meuse), and the *Salii* or Salian Franks, who had advanced and occupied the lands beyond the Scheldt between the *Samara* (Somme) and the Mosa, which Julian the Apostate ceded to them at the treaty of 358.

81. THE ALEMANNI, in the southwestern angle of Germany, on the Upper Rhine (in Baden, Würtemberg and Switzerland), were the ancient people of the SUEVI, or Souabians, who, in the time of Caracalla (A. D. 211), had formed another

[21] Prof. Henry Leo opposes the idea of a Frankic Confederacy. According to his views the Franks were the *masters*, and the vanquished tribes stood to them in the relation of subjects, Ledjonen (*ignavi*, or cowards), who had lost part of their personal liberty.—*History of the Middle Ages.* Halle, 1830, p. 85.

confederacy with their neighbors the Turoni, Hermanduri, and other tribes, and, calling themselves *Alemanni* or All-men, invaded the territory behind the Hadrian Wall, where they afterwards obtained permanent seats. This was the most exposed part of the empire, between the upper Rhine and the springs of the Danube: it was called *Sinus Imperii;* and indeed Rome nourished the serpents in her bosom!

THE HERMUNDURI, on the east, lived formerly on the upper Mayn, toward the Danube (in Franconia). They were a quiet people, who are more known from their brisk commerce with the Romans on the Danube, than by their military exploits. After the invasion of the Bojoars, or Bavarians, they melt away, or mix with the Alemanni.

THE BURGUNDIANS—*Burgundi* or *Burgundiones*,—and the VANDALS—*Vandali*—were at the time we speak of (395), the eastern neighbors of the Alemanni. They belong to the same race, and had formerly occupied the shores of the Baltic. The Burgundians have left their name in the small island, *Burgunderholm* (Bornholm), in the Baltic. The Vandals, and their fierce companions, the *Rugians*, from the island of Rügen, and the *Herules*, being driven west by the Goths, fell upon the Suevi and Hermunduri, and carved out with their swords new and more pleasant settlements on the Mayn, where we find them preparing for the great expedition beyond the Rhine, in A. D. 406. The Herules and Rugians, however, remained on the Danube, where the country north of Vienna, toward Hungary, afterwards was called Rugiland.

THE MARCOMANS—*Marcomanni*—appear for the first time as the conquerors of the Bojoars—*Boii*—in their old seats in *Boiohenum* (Böheim or Bohemia). The vanquished people abandoned their native valley, and were by the Romans permitted to cross the Danube, and occupy parts of Rhætia Secunda, which later received the name of *Bojoaria*, now Bavaria. The Marcomans in Bohemia, and their allies, the Quadi, in Moravia, gave great trouble to the Romans on the Danube;

they even crossed the Alps, and appeared before Aquileja; but Marcus Aurelius drove them back with so great a loss, that they afterwards disappear altogether, mingling up, no doubt, with Herules or Langobards.

THE QUADI were divided into two tribes, *Ripuarii* inhabiting the left bank of the Danube, and *Transjugitani* beyond the mountains in Moravia and Silesia.

THE VARINI or VARNI inhabited the shores of the Baltic, west of the Rugians, in the present Pomerania, where they bordered on the Saxons and Langobards.

82. THE SAXONS—*Saxones*—formed a powerful confederation of Low-German tribes between the Baltic and the Elbe (in the present Holstein and the territory of Hamburg). But when the Franks began to invade Gaul, and settle beyond the Rhine, the Saxons likewise crossed the Elbe and occupied the lands which they had left. The Saxons thus extended on the Weser, and as far as the lower Rhine, absorbing the smaller tribes, who yielded to their power; and they soon began, with their neighbors and cousins the Angles and Jutes, to prepare their fleets for their piratic expeditions on the coasts, which half a century later were to carry them across the German Ocean, to the shores of Britain.

THE LANGOBARDS or LONGOBARDS.—*Longobardi*, East of the Saxons, in the present Lauenburg and Brandenburg, were originally a Scandinavian people from the north of Jutland, beyond the *Liimfiord* (the province called Vendila). That their language was Danish is sufficiently proved by their historian Paul Warnefrid and their laws afterwards in Lombardy. They received their name—"*Longbeards*"—according to tradition, from Odin, the All-father himself.[22] They abandoned their

[22] Being sorely pressed by the surrounding Saxon and Sclavonian tribes, the Scandinavian emigrants addressed themselves to Frigga, the wife and sister of Odin, to intercede for them with All-father. The goddess then told them, says the Saga, to unite in prayers early in the morning, with their wives spreading their long, fair hair over face and bosom, in order to attract the attention of Odin. The Jutes followed

dreary home during an inundation of the ocean, and remained for a length of time on the Elbe. In a subsequent period, after the first great migration, we find them again in northern Pannonia (Hungary), where they form a powerful and warlike nation.

THE ANGLES—*Angli*—north of the Saxons and Langobards, beyond the river Eider (in the present Duchy of Schleswig, where a district is still called Angeln), were of Scandinavian origin, like their neighbors the JUTES or JOTES—*Jutæ*—in the northern part of the *Chersonesus Cimbrica* (Jutland). "*Dan and Angul*" says the historian, Saxo the Grammarian, "*were brothers*," a figurative statement of the fact that the Danish and English people are originally descended from the same ancestry.[23] They soon joined the Saxons in their maritime expeditions, and migrated with them and some of the Jutes, to Britain toward the middle of the 5th century. The Jute and the Angle or Sleswiger have in the mass of the people the same general character and manners, except the greater elasticity which the Angle has acquired by his intercourse with the Germans. The Jutlanders are proud of their hardy

the advice; and when Odin at dawn of day was looking down upon the world from Valhalla, and beheld the shaggy people below, he turned to Frigga, and said, "Who are those longbeards?" The goddess quickly answered: "Thou hast given thy people a name; give them now victory and lands!" And Odin smiled, and said: "I bless their swords, and grant them success."

[23] The heathen Angles, Saxons, and Danes, had the *same religion.* Their common deities, Tyr, Wodan (Odin), Thur (Tor), Frea (Freia), &c., still survive, and are daily suggested to our memory in the appellations of the *days of the week* common to both Danes and Anglo-Saxons. The same mystic beings: gud, god; alfar, ælfe, ylfe, elves; vœtter, wihte, wights; dverger, dveorgs, dwarfs; jotnar, jœtter, jotnas; tröll, trölde, trolles; hel, hell, &c., were worshipped or feared, by both nations, and occur not only in their ancient poetical remains, but also in the popular superstitions and ballads of their still flourishing posterity. Their gods and heroes have likewise the same names: Woden, Odin; Skiold, Scyld; Halfdan, Haelfdene; Ubbe, Uffo, Offa; Hrolfr, Rolf; Helge, Halga; Ylfings, Wylfings, &c

and enterprising ancestors. Hengist and Horsa, who first settled in Britain, were Jutes. Ruric, who in 852 with his northern Vikings laid the foundation of the Russian empire, was likewise a Jute, and so was king Gorm the Old, who united all the small principalities of the Danish Islands, and formed the monarchy in A. D. 880. Yet the Jutes, sooner than their neighbors, settled down to the more quiet pursuits of agriculture and cattle breeding. They are still a brave but peaceful and slow-speaking people; they are considered as cunning and close; the proverb is, "sharp as a Jute." Though patient and enduring, they can be roused to the highest enthusiasm, and are strongly attached to their king and country. The Jutes are middle sized, short, fair haired, of a gentle and agreeable physiognomy; their women are lovely, with blue eyes, and rosy cheeks, but as clumsy as their helpmates, clattering along on wooden shoes. Different is the character and deportment of the Saxon or Holsteiner. He is tall and handsome, with auburn hair. He is industrious, active, dexterous, ambitious, and quarrelsome; he is arbitrary and imperious, witty, lively, but proud and overbearing towards his inferiors. He is full of talent and capacity, but boastful, grandiloquent, and selfish. North of the Elbe, the country of the Saxons was on account of the forests, called *Holz Sachsen* (Holsatia, Holstein), and was divided into three parts; on the west *Ditmarsk*, with its free farmers the Ditmarskers; on the south *Stormarn*, and east, on the Baltic *Wagria*, which afterwards, when the greater part of the Saxons had crossed over to Britain, was occupied by roving tribes of Sclavonians, the Obotrites and Vendes.

B.—SCANDINAVIA.

85. SCANDINAVIA is formed by the Danish islands Sweden and Norway. Denmark has its name, not from Dan Mykilati (the wide-ruling), one of its earliest traditional kings, but from DANER or DANSKER, a tribe of the great people of the Goths, who in early times occupied the Lowlands or open lands—

DANNE-MARK, south of the mountains of Gothland, and east of the islands of the Baltic. This open country on the mainland of Sweden was known as SCANDIA (Skaane) to the Romans. The Danish islands were called EYE-GOTHLAND, and the Peninsula of Jutland REIT-GOTHLAND, because the Danish Goths would pass through the whole length of it on horseback.[24]

"In the farthest north," says Jornandes, the Gothic historian, "a number of hostile tribes dwelt in the country of *Scanzia*, Scandinavia. This region extends itself to the boundary of the habitable globe, where in the winter a gloomy light covers the earth with darkness during forty days; and in the summer the sun remains above the horizon for an equal time. Nearest to the Goths dwell the *Suethones* (no doubt the Swedes), who with swift horses chase the wild animals that inhabit their woods, and transmit their valuable skins through a hundred different nations to Italy. In the same regions dwell the gentle race of Finns, and in the adjoining country, the Danes—a nation of huge stature. From this region came the Goths, who, landing on the Rugian coast, defeated the wandering hordes of Vandals, and five generations later occupied the countries contiguous to the Euxine Sea." The homestead of the Danes, therefore, was Sealand, Fyen, the circumjacent smaller islands, and the fertile plains of Skaane, the latter of which remained an integral part of Denmark even after the Middle Ages, until the disasters of the Thirty Years' War, in 1648, when it was ceded to Sweden. Sweden was called *Svea Land* or *Svea Rike*, the kingdom of the SVEAR or SVENSKAR, likewise a Gothic tribe, inhabiting the lands north of their brethren the Danes or Dansker. Norway does not signify "the way to the north pole," but *North realm*, *Nord-rige*, contracted Norge. THE NORSE call themselves *Nordmænd* (Normans), and speak the same written language as the Danes, though their pronunciation is as rough as their mountains.

[24] *Jute* is pronounced *yoot*, and it seems, therefore, a kindred word with *Goth*.

The early history of Scandinavia is mythical; through the dim traditions we can only discover the arrival of Odin and his *asars* or priests, from *Asa-gaard* (Asow), on the Black Sea, B. C. 70, and the great influence which his religious system and conquests exerted among the Northmen. His descendants, the *Skioldunger*, in Denmark, and the *Ynglingar*, in Sweden, continued to reign for centuries in different smaller dynasties, until later in the ninth century a new light is thrown on the North on the introduction of Christianity by missionaries from France. Three great events however rest on a historical basis, the migration of the Langobards from Jutland, that of the Goths from Gothland or northern Sweden, A. D. 200, and that of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, A. D. 449, to Britain. Yet if history is silent, the sagas and songs in the *Icelandic eddas* are eloquent testimonials from the heroical days of the old Sea-kings and Vi-kings, and the gradual progress of civilization is plainly discernible through the ages of stone, of bronze and of iron, by the interesting discoveries made in the sepulchral monuments from those times. Another proof of the comparative early cultivation in the hoary north are the numerous Runic inscriptions found every where, which go back to the third, or even second century of our era.

86. THE FINNS—*Finnaith*—were the aboriginal inhabitants of the north; these "gentle Finns," the black-haired tribe, belonged to the race of the CHUDES, occupying in those early times the greater part of Scandinavia, QUAINLAND (now Lapmark in northeastern Sweden), JOTUNHEIM (now Finnland), and BIARMELAND (the whole northern Russia) on the White Sea, as far as Mount Oural. These poor Skrit-Finns, clad in skins, dwelling in fur tents, tending their reindeer, and chasing the wild urus, were subjugated or driven northward by the proud tribes of the Goths; and it is an interesting fact from the sagas, that the black-haired race, the Finns, remained "the thralls or serfs, tilling the ground of the fair-haired southern conquerors long centuries after their first conquest of Scandinavia."

EMPIRE OF THE HUNS.

SARMATIA AND SCYTHIA.

87. SARMATIA.—The Romans gave the name of *Sarmatia* to all the countries between the Vistula, on the west, and the *Rha* or Volga, on the east. It ran north toward the *Oceanus Septentrionalis*, the distance of which was unknown, though we have already seen the nations bordering upon the Finnish Gulf and the White Sea were not Sarmatians but Chudes; its limits on the south, were the Euxine Pontus and the Caucasian Ridge; it embraced likewise the fertile *Chersonesus Taurica* (now Crimea), where the Roman empire still possessed some towns situated on the coast. The southeastern part of Sarmatia between the *Thanais* (now Don) and Caucasus, was then called Asiatic Sarmatia, and was, before the arrival of the Huns, occupied by the ALANI, renowned for their excellent cavalry.

88. SCYTHIA.—Both Greeks and Romans embraced under the appellation Scythia all northern Asia, from the Volga to the eastern ocean, of which they knew no more than of the *frozen ocean* bordering that continent on the north. On the south it reached to the *Oxus*, and the high range of *Imaüs* (Emodus, now Himalaya), from which both the Indus and Ganges take their source. Another chain of mountains running north, which they likewise called *Imaüs*, the present Mustag, divided, according to their imperfect knowledge, all Scythia into two parts: *Scythia intra Imaum montem*, and *Scythia extra Imaum* (on this side, or on the west, and beyond, or on the east). More interesting is the question who the Scythians were, and what was the difference between them and the Sarmatians, that is, *Sauromatians*, or lizard (green)-eyed people? The Scythians, no doubt, were the ancient *Massagetæ*, between the Caspian sea and the lake of Aral; they were then Turcomans and Tartars, and so are the modern Cossacks; while the "green-eyed people," the *Sauromatæ*, are the more modern Slavi, Scla-

vonians, Russians and Poles, nay, a century or two later the Byzantine historians knew nothing more about the Sauromatæ and Sarmatia; but they are constantly occupied with *Slavi*, *Slavini*, and *Slavia*,[25] which distinctly proves that the old Sarmatian races then got a more modern name from their own language.

89. EMPIRE OF THE HUNS.—The empire of the Huns, —*Hunni*—had not yet obtained, at the time we here describe, the immense extent which it acquired afterwards; but almost immediately on the appearance of the Hunnish monsters on the Volga, one nation sank before them after the other; they overran the greater part of Sarmatia and Scythia, and penetrated into the heart of Gaul. Some have held the Huns to be the Chinese tribe Hiongnu,[26] but this is erroneous. They were a mighty nomadic people of Mongol race, quite different from the inhabitants of southern Asia (Tartars), and Europe (Pelasgi). They were CHUNNI (*Hunni*), of UGRIAN race, kindred to the HUNGARIANS from Mount Oural. The Ugri are of FINNISH or CHUDISH descent, and so are both the Huns and the Hungarians, with the difference, however, that the Huns have an admixture of the Mongol or Calmuc, while the Magyars have more Turkish blood in their veins. The Huns are described as the ugliest race of monsters the world ever saw; and the Goth Jornandes says that their horrible deformity and bestiality gained more battles for them than their arrows. At the time of their invasion they were divided into two numerous tribes—the WHITE HUNS or the *Hephthalites*, on the east of the Caspian, hovering on the frontiers of the Persian empire, where they made desolating incursions; and the BLACK HUNS, the true UGRIANS from Mount Oural. Starting from their dreary table-lands (Siberia) in 374, they suddenly appeared

[25] *Slava* signifies ἔνδοξος, *gloriosus*, glorious, brave; *slowa*, in Sclavonic, is *man*. The Sclavonian prisoners during the middle ages brought in use our modern slave, sklav, esclave, schiavo, esclavo.

[26] Desguignes, in his Histoire des Huns, and Gibbon, chap. xxvi.

on the Volga, where they overthrew the Alani, and in a single battle on the banks of the Thanais, destroyed the mighty empire of the Ostrogoths. The Goths are subdued; the chiefs of the proud and princely race of Amali serve the Hunnish conqueror; all the lands east of the Theiss and the Danube are devastated. A general panic has taken possession of the many Sarmatic, Turkish, Chudish, and Germanic tribes on the plains of Sarmatia; many flee westward to the Rhine. Alani, Suevi, Vandals, and Burgundians, form their immense camps on the upper Danube (81); the terrified Visigoths have already crossed that river and inhabit Mœsia; and thus the Huns in 380 roam victoriously over those immense regions, and live on the spoils of the Gepidæ, Scyri, Heruli, and other Germanic nations who follow their banner.[27] The borders of their empire under King Balamir seems to have been the river *Tibiscus* (Theiss) on the west; how far it reached north is not to be decided. On the south it was bounded by Mount Caucasus, the Black Sea, and the Danube; on the east it stretched away far in the interior of Siberia.

90. Nations who obeyed the Huns.—In our enumeration of the nations whom the Huns subjected to the yoke on their first invasion, we will follow the order in which their conquests took place. The Akatziri, Chazars, Khozars or *Guzzari*, one of the most important Tartaric nations during the middle ages, had with other Tartaric and Turcoman tribes their homestead on the steppes above the river Oxus and Iaxartes, east of the Caspian, and bordered, north and east, on the Ugri and Mongols. They then advanced on the Caspian, which from them took the name of *Khozaric Sea*, and they began from thence terrible inroads on the Persian empire. They were long residing on the northern shores of the Caspian between the rivers *Yaïk* (Oural), and the *Rha* or *Atel* (Volga), when, at the sudden irruption of the Huns, they were forced into submission, and carried along with their conquerors.

[27] Compare the small map illustrating the Conquests of the Huns on the lower Danube in 380.

The ALANS, *Alani*, a nation of Germanic origin, though mixed with Turkish blood, who with their herds of horses and cattle roamed on the sandy steppes, which extend north of Mount Caucasus. Defeated by the Huns, part of the Alani fled southward to the mountains, where their descendants, the Ossetes, a warlike Circassian tribe, still occupy the northern valleys of Mount Kasbeck and the banks of the Terek. Others hurried westward and joined the Vandals and Suevi, while the mass of the Alani enlisted among their victors, and moved off with them to new settlements.

The GOTHS, *Gothi*.—About this, the most celebrated of the Germanic nations, we have already spoken (85–89). They settled in very early times on the shores of the Baltic, where we find a Godoland and Godesconzia (Castle of the Goths), further, an island of the name of Gothland, and another Gothland in central Sweden, between their brethren the Danes and Suethones. But about the year A. D. 200, according to Jornandes, they turned their arms south again, and appear now for the first time on the scene of history divided in three great nations—the OSTROGOTHS or *Eastern Goths*, on the Borysthenes (Dnieper); the VISIGOTHS or *Western Goths*, westward of that river in Dacia; and the GEPIDÆ or the *Loiterers*, who remained north of the Carpathian range, at the sources of the Vistula, where they still continued independent of the Huns at the close of the fourth century. The Goths were the most civilized of all the Germanic tribes, and they had adopted Christianity *en masse* much earlier than the Greco-Roman inhabitants of the empire. Their bishop, the learned Ulphilas, invented their alphabet, and translated the New Testament (77). The family of Amali ruled the Ostrogoths as kings (89); the Baltes (or the Bold) were the presidents or judges of the Visigoths; yet it seems that King Hermanric, of the Ostrogoths, enjoyed a supremacy over the other tribes. All the Sarmatian nations of the eastern plains obeyed the sceptre of the generous Hermanric, who has left a great name in history; yet the onslaught of the Huns was irresistible—the old king perished

in battle, and his brave people was forced to follow the camp of their monstrous masters. The Visigoths had assembled their forces behind the *Danaster* (Dniester), but the Huns swam their horses through the river, to attack the rear of the Goths, who suffered a second defeat on the *Hierasus* (Pruth). Their bravest warriors gathering round their chief judge, Athanaric, attempted a stand on the mountains of *Caucaland* (the Carpathians), but the mass of the nation, stricken with terror, hurried to the banks of the Danube, imploring the pity of the Emperor Valens, for an asylum in the territory of the Roman empire. They were permitted to cross the river, and more than a million of Visigoths were settled in the Aurelian Dacia (34), and the two Mœsiæ (31 and 34), whence they afterwards received the name of *Mæso-Goths.* Sword in hand they soon penetrated across Mount Hæmus into the heart of Thrace (50); and after the battle of Adrianople and the death of Valens, it was only by the greatest exertions of the prudent Theodosius that the capital could be saved from those dangerous guests.

Among the many nations then inhabiting Sarmatia, who passed from the yoke of the Goths, under that of the fierce Huns, we mention the following:

THE ROXOLANS,—*Roxolani*—(the ancestors of the Russians, who inhabited the *Palus Mæotis* (gulf of Azof), between the lower Borysthenes and the Tanais. They became later a powerful people, under the sway of Ruric and his Danish Vikings.

THE HERULI, driven from the banks of the *Palus Mæotis*, by the Huns, retreated thence toward the Danube, where we later find them, on the right bank of that river, between Vienna and Buda, forming a powerful kingdom, before their march to Italy, in 476.

THE PEUCINI, TAIFALI and SCYRES—*Scyri*, were mixed tribes of Germanic and Sclavonic descent, in Dacia, and along the outskirts of the Carpathian mountains.

THE VANDALI ASTINGI (80) had marched eastward, to-

ward the Black Sea, but like the THERWINGI, another Gothic tribe, they soon gave up their plans and retired, fleeing back toward the Theiss, to escape the fury of the Huns.

THE JAZYGES (33), a brave Sarmatic people, living on horseback, occupied still the open, swampy plain of the Marosh, with their immense herds of horses and cattle; they provided the markets of the Greek empire, but they too bowed to the Huns.

91. Among the Slavonic nations north of the Carpathians, who remained independent during this period, we mention in central and northern Sarmatia,

THE SLAWINI, ANTI and VENETI, in the later principality of Lithuania. The latter were likewise called VENEDÆ, or VINIDI, on the coast of the *Sinus Venedicus* (the Baltic), in which the Vistula discharges itself. After the downfall of the Gothic empire, the Veneti became, under the name of *Vendi*, the most powerful and celebrated nation in Sarmatia (Slavia), and extended their sway over all the southern coast of the Baltic, and into Holstein, where they soon came in hostile contact with the Danes.

THE BORUSSCI (Prussians), on the right bank of the Vistula, appear somewhat later, as one of the most savage and indomitable of the Sclavonian races; but they have now, after long suffering, become Germanized, as the peaceful inhabitants of East Prussia.

THE HESTII, or ESTYI, on the northeast of the Borussci, had quietly inhabited the coasts of their fertile province (now the beautiful, highly cultivated Estland, or Estonia), since the first century, when Tacitus mentions them as active merchants and fishermen, who were occupied in gathering the precious yellow amber on their coast, and thus kept up a continual traffic with distant Italy.

92. GOTHI TETRAXITÆ were a branch of the Gothic stock who occupied the southern part of the beautiful peninsula of *Taurica* (Crimea). Only the maritime towns, *Dandaca*, and *Chersonesos* on the east, and *Theodosia* (Caffa) on the

Taurian Bosphorus, inhabited by Greeks, remained in connection with the empire.

THE ZICKS, ZICKHI, a Caucasian people on the *Hypanis* (Kuban), in the present Abashia, on the coast of the Black Sea; the LAZI, in the ancient Colchis, on the south of the range; the IBERI, in the present Grusia, on the river *Cyrus* (Kura), and other nations on Mount Caucasus, all warlike, like their modern descendants, preserved their liberty.

93. Farther northeast, along the ridge of Mount Oural, appear already the vanguard of the SLAVO-TURKISH, and TURCO-TARTARIC TRIBES in their advance upon the Black Sea and the Danube. These wild and barbarous nations, the *Bulgarians*, the *Avars*, the horrible *Petchenegi* and *Cumani*, are in a subsequent period to perform an important part in the history of the Middle Ages. The *Magyars*, the *Ugri* and *Hungari* or *Hungarians*, all FINNO-TURKISH TRIBES, on the northwestern slope of Mount Oural, are still residing in their old home, Ugria, and there we shall leave them for the present.

II. COUNTRIES IN ASIA.

94. THEIR NAMES.—Among the regions of Asia which were known to the Romans, and by them accounted in the world of the Barbarians, we need hardly count the wild, roving tribes of the SARRAZENI, or SARACENS; *Saraceni*, the Bedouins of the Arabian desert, who already began to appear on the outskirts of the great Syrian desert, where they lay in wait for the caravans from Damascus crossing by Palmyra, through the desert, to Babylon on the Euphrates. But we must say a word about Armenia, on the northeast of the Roman frontiers, and of the Persian Empire on the southeast.

95. ARMENIA or GREAT ARMENIA, *Armenia Major*, by this name distinguished from Armenia Minor, which belonged to the Roman empire, formed south of Mount Caucasus an independent state, or rather a confederacy of states, sufficiently powerful, which the Romans themselves had assisted in throwing off the Persian yoke.

ARTAXATA (now Ardek) on the Araxes, was at that time the most important city.

96. THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS was re-established in A. D. 226, on the ruins of the Parthian power. The last Arsacide was dethroned and killed by Artaxerxes Babegan, with whom began the dynasty of the Sassanides. The new Persian Empire comprehended all the countries extending from the Indian Ocean, *Erythreum Mare*, in the south, to the river Jaxartes in the north, and from the Indus in the east to the Tigris and the Euphrates in the west. The Persian monarchs, ambitious and warlike, laid claims to the eastern Roman empire as part of ancient Persia, and thus the wars on the frontiers were almost continual. The empire was divided into four Satrapies. The capital was the city of SELEUCIA, west of the Tigris, and CTESIPHON, on the opposite bank, the residence of the Parthian Kings during their dominion in those regions. Al-Madain, or the Two Cities, was the name given to their ruins, with the materials of which the Arabs afterwards built the city of Bagdad. The New Persians, like the Parthians, were originally a brave, warlike people; laborious, faithful, devoted to their country, but servile and reserved. The kings were despots, vain of their proud oriental titles; their will or whim was the only law; Chosroes I. permitted, singularly enough, a national assembly to sanction his laws, but every remonstrance was punished with death. One revolution, fomented in the seraglio, followed another; unheard cruelties were committed, and even women succeeded to the throne. The fire-worship of Zoroaster had been restored, and the *Magi* (Mobeds) had a preponderating influence. A splendid cavalry was the strength of the Persian armies, and the steed continued still the favorite animal of the Persian. Against the Chazars on the Caspian, the Persians defended their frontiers by the celebrated walls, forty parasangs (150 miles) in length, the *Bab-al-Abuab* at Dervend, on the Caspian. The Nestorians found a hospitable reception in Persia, and they alone were tolerated among the Christian

sects. The luxury among the great was promoted by early commerce with India. The city of Ormus at the entrance of the Persian gulf, became one of the most important emporiums of the East. Learning flourished at court; Greek philosophers were well received, but the people were kept in ignorance; the manners were savage, and women held in servitude and contempt. Agriculture was protected by the Persian kings as worthy servants of Ormuz, and Persia flourished by her manufactures of perfumes, splendid clothing and arms. Such was the state of that mighty Persian monarchy which soon was destined to threaten Constantinople and the Eastern Empire with destruction, to sink herself before the all-conquering fanaticism of the followers of Mohammed.

III. BARBARIAN COUNTRIES IN AFRICA.

97. Different Nations.—The African nations who had escaped the dominion of the Romans, lived on the outskirts of the Great Libyan desert, without any influence on the political movements of the world. Nor are we acquainted with their situation and condition at this period. The Moorish tribes, Berberi, Kabyles and Maurusians had been driven into the recesses of Mount Atlas, whence they later re-appear as the allies of the Vandals in their war against the Romans.

Thus we have finished our picture of the political, geographical, and ethnographical condition of the ancient world at the close of the fourth century. A glance at the second map from the beginning of the sixth will at once show the great events which have taken place since the fall of the Western Roman Empire, and the settlement of the Germanic nations in its devastated provinces.[28]

[28] Particular attention has been paid in this introductory map to fix the places which have become important, in the wars of the last Emperors against the Barbarians, and as far as the space of the map has permitted we have with accuracy designated every historical site men-

CHAPTER III.

EUROPE AND THE ADJACENT PARTS OF ASIA AND AFRICA.

THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AT THE ACCESSION OF JUSTINIAN I. A. D. 527.

98. General Division.—We have given a detailed description of the ancient world before the invasion of the Barbarians. To delineate the movement itself on the map, in such a manner as to combine clearness with accuracy,—to exhibit the march of so many nations crossing and recrossing one another in all directions, and almost at the same time, would be impossible. The earlier attempts of Kruse, Ansart, and others to indicate the wanderings of the migrating tribes by colored lines, have therefore been failures, because they only augmented the confusion instead of clearing it up. We have in consequence preferred to take our stand in the second map at a time when the migrations of the northern Germanic nations were at an end, with the only exception of that of the *Lombards*, who, at a subsequent period, some forty years later, entered Italy. With regard to the eastern Sclavonian and Turkish races, no certain period could be fixed, because their invasions from the Caspian continued throughout the course of the middle ages. By thus comparing the two first maps, the historical student will discover, 1st, that the dominion of the Germanic nations extends already from the northern tropics to the deserts of Africa, and from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean eastward, to the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire in Illyricum; 2d, that the numerous Sclavonian nations, in their progress west-

tioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus, the six minor historians, the panegyrists, Jornandes, Paul Warnefried, and other northern chroniclers whose relations go back to those early times.

ward, have occupied the lands abandoned by the Germans, from the Elbe and the Baltic, to the Danube and the Adriatic; 3d, that the western Roman Empire has perished in the deluge of nations, and that eastern Rome or the Greek (Byzantine) Empire, though still surviving, is sorely pressed by the advancing Avars, Bulgarians, and the millions of Turco-Tartars already descending from Mount Oural. We find, therefore, at the time of the accession of Justinian I., fifteen more or less important states, founded and organized by the Barbarians who had taken part in the migration. The larger portion of these nations had already been converted to Christianity, and they deserve our particular attention, while we may pass more rapidly over other regions still, at that time, occupied by Barbarians, who were either subdued by the arms of Byzantium, or were suffered to enjoy their wild independence unmolested. Those fifteen states were distributed throughout Europe in the following manner: Six in northern Europe and western Asia: 1st, the *British Islands*, where we find four Saxon kingdoms and several independent regions: II. *Independent Germany;* III. *Slavia;* IV. the *States of Scandinavia;* and in the northeast V. the kingdom of the *Bulgarians* or *Wolochs*, which extended across Mount Oural beyond the frontiers of Europe; VI. the kingdom of the *Uturgurian Huns* on the Caspian. Five in central Europe: VII. the kingdoms of the *Franks;* VIII. that of the *Burgundians;* IX. that of the *Thuringians;* X. that of the *Lombards;* and XI. that of the *Gepidæ*. Four in southern Europe and northern Africa: XII. the kingdom of the *Visigoths;* and XIII. that of the *Suevians*, both in Spain; XIV. that of the *Ostrogoths* in Italy; XV. that of the *Vandals*, on some of the islands of the Mediterranean and the northern coast of Africa; and last of all, as the XVIth, the eastern *Roman* empire, to which during the reign of Justinian, the two preceding, those of the Ostrogoths and Vandals, were reunited by the victorious sword of Belisarius and Narses. These important conquests produced a signal modifica-

tion in the political geography of Europe toward the middle of the sixth century. Before we consider their main results, we shall describe these fifteen Barbarian states as they existed on the accession of Justinian.

I. NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. BRITISH ISLANDS.

99. Division.—The British Islands, with which we begin our description of northern Europe, exhibit at the beginning of the sixth century, four countries which still remained independent, four Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and some other territories occupied by Saxon or Scandinavian pirates.

100. I. Hibernia—*Iraland*, *Erin*—Ireland, the most western of the two large British islands, was divided into several populous kingdoms. Christianity made a rapid progress. After the first doubtful attempts of Palladius, the disciple of that devoted missionary, the great Saint Patrick, a native of Scotland, arrived among the Irish in 432, and began the arduous missionary work with such wonderful success, that he was enabled in 472 to found the archbishopric of Ardmacha (Armagh), which has ever since remained the metropolitan see of the Irish nation. Hence it is that this enlightened and persevering missionary, though not the first who brought the light of the Gospel among that savage people, has yet been justly entitled the *Apostle of the Irish*, and the *Father of the Hibernian Church*, and is still generally acknowledged and revered in that honorable character. With Christianity, civilization began to dawn on those remote regions; churches and schools were built, and the religious order of the *Culdees*, instituted in the sixth century by Saint Columba, distinguished itself by its pure and apostolic principles; while many other monasteries arose in which the sciences were studied with enthusiasm and success. The art of writing was introduced, and the monks them-

selves invented new alphabets. The old Irish laws (Brehon laws) seem to have been written in a secret language, in order to remain intelligible only to the Brehons (the judges and lawyers). Ireland was badly cultivated; the chase, cattle-breeding, and fishing, were the principal resources of the poor and barbarous Erins; they fought with stones, spears, and ponderous battle-axes. They had two arts: music and poetry; for their bards sang to the harp the deeds of the heroes among the different tribes, who were continually fighting with one another. Among the larger states we find CONNACIA (*Conaght*, Connaught), in the northwest;—ULTONIA (Ulster), north, with the ancient city of ARDMACHA (Armagh), south of *Loch Etach* (Lake Neath), the great centre for the Irish missions;—MEDIA (Meath), east, with the capital TAMORA, *Teamor* (now Trim), on the river *Boandus* (Boyne), whose chief—*Ardriagh*—or king enjoyed a supremacy over the chiefs—*canfinnies*—of the other tribes, and often called them together in public assembly. LAGENIA (*Lechlinia*, Leinster), southeast, with the town EBLANA, *Dyflin* (or Dublin); and MOMONIA (Munster), on the southwest. Shortly after this period, in the seventh century, began the piratical incursions of the *Ostmannas*—the Eastmen or Danes, and their permanent settlement on the east coast of Erin, where they, in the ninth century, founded flourishing kingdoms.

101. II. THE KINGDOM OF THE SCOTS, in the northwestern extremity of the island of Britain, and the smaller adjacent isles. THE SCOTS—*Scoti*—were the ancient Caledonians, who descending from their dreary mountains (the Highlands), had given the Romans so much trouble behind their fortified lines on the Forth. They were of *Celtic* origin, and called themselves *Gaelic*, and their mountain-home *Gaeldoch*. The Scots, like their kinsmen the Erins, were poor and savage; they had all the features of the Celtic race; their government was feudal, the people were divided into *Clans*, whose chiefs possessed the control of life and death over their liegemen (*Sgollags*). Their weapons were the heavy battle-axe (lochaber axe), the broad

claymore, the dirk, and the bow; the chase and fishery formed their occupation. Christianity took early root in the Highlands. Saint Palladius had already, since the year 430, spread successfully the faith of Christ among the Scots, as Saint Patrick did among the Erins in Ireland, during the time when the Anglo-Saxons were establishing themselves in Britain. Among the southern Picts, Christianity is said to have maintained itself from the period of their early conversion by the Briton Nynias in 394. In the year 563, Saint Columba passed over from Ireland to the northern Picts and formed excellent disciples, through whom a pleasing image of pious zeal, deep learning, and varied acquirements attaches itself to the memory of the Scottish monks. Saint Columba received from the Pictish prince the island of *Hy*, now Iona or I-Colm-Kill (the Isle of the Church, or Cell of Columba), which his name has consecrated, and which in honor of him continued for ages to be the burial place of many northern heroes of Scotland, Ireland, Norway, and Northumbria.

The traditional king Fergus, from Ulster, is said to have united the Highland Clans about A. D. 500, and to have resided among the lakes of *Argathelia* (Argyle).

102. III. THE KINGDOM OF THE PICTS, on the southeast of the former.[29] They dwelt on both sides of the Grampian Hills, from Inverness and Elgin to Dunbarton, or from the Frith of Murray to those of Forth and Clyde, and south toward the border of England. *The Picts* (the present Lowlanders) were a different race from the Scots or Gaelic; they were no doubt of Scandinavian origin. The connection of Scandinavia with Caledonia, was of a much older date than the conquest of England by the Anglo-Saxons. The Orkney Islands were, from time immemorial, occupied by the Northmen, whence they early obtained a firm footing on the coast of Caledonia. Beda the

[29] The name of *Picts* seems to have been given them by the Romans, from their habit of staining their bodies with colors when going to battle; they were therefore *picti*, painted.

Venerable (A. D. 672–735) says, "that when the Britons, beginning at the south, made themselves masters of the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of the *Picts*, coming over the ocean from Scythia,[30] in long-ships, began to inhabit the northern part of that island, the south of which was already possessed by the Britons (Celts)." Nennius (A. D. 688) likewise says, "that the Picts occupied the Orkney Islands, and took possession of the left or northern coast of Britain, where they remained." This interesting fact is proved by the heroical poems of the Scottish Highlanders, and by all the philological investigations of modern times. The most remarkable affinity, both of language, poetry, names, and traditions, prevails between the Danish and Scottish ballads, and every Danish youth reading the Lowland Scotch dialect in Walter Scott's masterly tales, will drop a tear, and hail the familiar tones as an "auld lang syne" of his own. In the south of Scotland, the rustic still points to many a memorial of the Picts, consisting of old walls, and fortifications which have a great resemblance to those in the Scandinavian north.[31] The residence of the king of the Picts, was situated at the mouth of the river Tay.

103. IV. THE KINGDOM OF CAMBRIA OR KYMRU, along the western coast of Britain, embracing CAMBRIA or *North-Wealas* (the present Wales), and DAMNONIA or *West-Wealas* (now Cornwall), the kingdom of Arthur, the Celtic hero. The inhabitants were those brave *Cymri* (Cimbri), who accompanied the Celts on their early migration from the East (77). They received in their mountains the Britons fleeing before the victorious Anglo-Saxons, and thus the Welsh, headed by the celebrated King Arthur, of Damnonia, became the last bulwark of the Celtic race in Britain. The heroical deeds

[30] That is, Scandinavia. Jornandes, the Gothic historian, likewise calls Scandinavia, the homestead of his Goths, *Scythia*, and so do other writers in those early times.

[31] Compare the interesting dissertation on the origin of the Scottish language in Dr. Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, Edinburgh, 1851.

of King Arthur fall, most probably, about A. D. 520, when he perished in battle in Cornwall. Skeptical historians among the moderns have doubted the existence of the Celtic hero, but his ashes and tombstone were discovered at Glastonbury Abbey so early as 1189, and poems and traditions have carried his glorious name from the mountains of Wales to the distant Mediterranean; and during the Middle Ages, the tales of King Arthur, and his Knights of the Round Table, have been the delight of the fair at the fireside, and the emulation of the brave on the battle-field.

Cambria was then divided into several states: 1, VENEDOCIA or *Gwynedh*, in the north, whose king was supreme over the other states; his residence was at *Aberfraw*, on the island of Anglesey; 2, DIMETICA (Dyved), or *West Wales*, on the south; 3, DEHEUBARTH or *South Wales*, the country of the warlike *Silures*, with the royal seat at *Caerleon* upon Usk; and, 4, MORGANWG (Glamorganshire), on the northern bank of the Severn. *Caermardhyn* (Caermarthen), southwest, was one of the principal towns of the island. *Badon-hill*, near Bath, where King Arthur in battle defeated the Saxon invaders in A. D. 516. *Bangor* or Banchor, the celebrated monastery in the north of Wales, opposite to Anglesey, was already established in this early period. Saint Gildas, the oldest British historian (A. D. 516–570), lived here as a monk, and Nennius, who continued his *Eulogium Britanniæ*, was bishop of the monastery in A. D. 688. The chief tribes of the Britons (Cymry), were distinguished by various dialects of their common mother-tongue; it was polished by illustrious poets, whose works have been preserved to the present time. The Cymry extended their sway northward to the mouth of the Clyde, through the present lake district of Cumberland—the kingdom of *Cumbria*—as far as Dumfries, Annandale and Galloway—the kingdom of *Strathclyde*—where they continued their warfare with the Picts and Scots, as well as with the Anglo-Saxons, until they were expelled in the early part of the tenth century, when

Cumberland became a Scottish principality under Anglo-Saxon sovereignty.

104. KINGDOMS OF THE SAXONS.—The conquest of Britain by the Angles-Saxons and Jutes (84), under their chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, A. D. 449–489, and the later expeditions of Cerdic and Kenric, are too well known to require mention here. We find, in the beginning of the sixth century, four Saxon kingdoms established in the most fertile parts of the island; they are the following:

I. The kingdom of CANTWARE, *Cantia* (now Kent), founded in 451, on the southeastern coast of the island, by Hengist after the great battle at Crawford, in which the Britons were routed and forced to abandon the country south of the Thames. CANTWARABURH (Canterbury) was the capital. *Eagles-ford* (Aylesford), west of the former, was the place where Hengist and his Jutes gave the first battle to the Britons. At Stonar, on the seashore, opposite France, they defeated them again. *Thanet* (Ruithina), the small isle on the eastern coast, at the mouth of the Stura, near Richborough, where the British chiefs solicited the assistance of the Jutish and Saxon rovers, and where Hengist fortified his naval station for the subsequent invasion of the island.

II. The kingdom of SUTH-SEAXAS or *Suthsaxonia* (Sussex), founded by Ella in 477–490, who, after many victories over the unskilful Britons, at last established his seat in CISSANCEASTER (Chichester), and secured his conquest by continual succors from new Saxon bands. The island of WIHT, *Vectis* (now Wight), remained, like Kent, a Jutish colony.

III. The kingdom of WEST-SEAXAS or *Westsaxonia* (Wessex), was established in 516–19, by the proud Cerdic, the descendant of Odin, who extended his conquests westward to Damnonia, and north to the Severn. *Wintanceaster* (Winchester), was the capital. *Cerdicsforda*, on the Afene, where Cerdic, and his son Kenric, totally defeated the Britons, and secured the possession of their new empire.

IV. The kingdom of EAST-SEAXAS, *Estsaxonia* (Essex),

north of the Thames, founded in 526–27 by Æscewine, the son of Offa; while other bands of Angles from Schleswig, under king Ida, landed north, and laid the foundation of the states of East-Anglia and Northanhumbria (Northumberland). The petty kings of Essex resided in Lundenwyc (London). Thus the eastern and southern coasts of Britain were permanently occupied by the Anglo-Saxons (449–530), and thirty years later (560), we find one Jutish, three Saxon, and three Angle kingdoms established in Britain; Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East-Anglia, Bernicia, and Deïra. The poor Britons, driven westward into the mountain fastnesses of Wales, had already long become Christians, while their savage conquerors still worshipped Odin, Thor and Freia. It was not until 596, that Saint Austin appeared with his Roman monks, and his assistant Mellitus built Saint Paul's Church in London in A. D. 604.

II. Independent Germany.

105. Principal Nations.—The whole northern portion of Germany was, in the beginning of the 6th century, occupied with nations who had not yet formed themselves into monarchies.

The Frisons (76), from the mouth of the Rhine along the coast, to the Elbe.

The Saxons (78), who, though so many bands had crossed over to Britain, had continued to extend themselves between the Weser, the Elbe, and the Rhine.

The Angles (78), on the north of the Saxons, had mostly departed beyond the sea, and their name was only preserved in the small district of *Angeln*, north of Schleswig.

The Warni (80) had crossed the Elbe, and settled on the lower Rhine. Their king, Radiger, had engaged an Anglo-Saxon princess, but married a sister of the Frankish king, Theodebert. The Anglo-Saxons landed, to take revenge for this slight, defeated the Warni, captured their prince, and

obliged him to fulfil his prior matrimonial engagement with the Anglo-Saxon lady, which is an interesting event, told us by the Greek historian, Procopius, then residing in Constantinople.

III. Scandinavia.

106. Denmark and Sweden.—The Jutes of the peninsula, and the Danes[32] of the islands, and of Skaane, Scandia (in Southern Sweden), lived still under a great number of petty kings, but they acknowledged the supremacy of the *Skioldunger* (the descendants of Odin), the kings of Sealand. Hledru, or *Leire*, was the ancient capital during this obscure period. The town lay on the Issefiord, near the present castle of *Lethraborg*. The valley of Hertha, in the neighborhood, where in the dismal and sombre forest, or *sacred grove*, stood the stone altars, on which the Danes every nine years celebrated their horrible sacrifices. During the month of January, they flocked together in crowds from the mainland and isles, and with many ceremonies offered up to their gods ninety-nine men, and as many horses and cocks, under the certain hope of appeasing them by their victims, and conciliating their favor for their maritime expeditions in the ensuing spring.

Sweden was yet a small country, extending north to the Dal-elv, and south to Skaane. It was divided according to the tribes in Suithoid, *Svealand*, and Gauthiod, Gotaland. The dynasty of the Ynglingar, the descendants of Odin, resided in Upsala (Old-Upsal), north of the modern city, where still is seen the celebrated *Mora-stone*, on which the ancient heathen kings were crowned, and received the homage of their

[32] The name *Danus*, Dane, appears for the first time in A. D. 580, in the Latin eulogy of the poet Venantius on the Frankish King Chilperic I, "*Quem Geta, Vasco, tremunt*, Danus, *Suitho, Saxo, Britannus.*" Eginhardt in his Life of Charlemagne says: "Dani, *Suecones quos Normannos vocamus.*" This was later corrupted into *Daci*, and in the Chronicles of the Crusades, we find always *Daci*, for Danes, and *Datia, Dacia*, for Denmark.

Suethan and Gothic subjects. At *Sigtuna*, on the frith of *Mælarn*, stood the large wooden temple, built by Odin and the Asars, called *Odens-sala*, the revered sanctuary of all the heathen Northmen, down to the ninth century. The temple possessed immense wealth in silver and gold ornaments, as the sea-kings always consecrated to Odin and Thor part of the spoils from their piracies. The statue of Odin represented him standing with a drawn sword in his hand; Thor, with his hammer, stood next, and the fair image of Frigga expressed her mild empire, as the benign goddess of love and marriage. Thor was the favorite god of the Norse, while Odin, Frigga, and the benevolent Balder, were the peculiar deities of the Gothic Danes and Svears at Leire and Upsala.

Civil wars among the petty princes, still occupied the Danes and Swedes at home, while the Norwegians had already formed settlements on the *Orkney* islands.

IV. Slavia.

107. Principal Nations.—With the year 471, the name *Sarmatia* disappears entirely, and it is replaced in the Byzantine historians with that of Slavia—Sclavonia. The *Slavi* or *Sloveni*, have advanced westward, in the rear of the Germans. They extend already over the immense plains of modern Prussia, Poland, and Russia. They drive the last German tribes across the Elbe. They occupy the fertile valley of Bojenheim (Bohemia), and the Carpathian ridge separates them from the Longobards and Gepidæ on the Danube. They are divided into many kindred nationalities.

I. The Sorabian-Vendes have their seats on the shores of the Baltic, and extend along the Elbe to the Ertz-Gebirge, on the frontiers of Bohemia. The western Slavi, Sorabi, and Vendes were governed by kings—*krales*—who formed their council of the nobles—*knæses*—and their territory was divided into regions or *zupania;* they loved liberty with the highest enthusiasm, and could never be brought to permanent subjection.

Their character was mild; their women modest; and they treated their prisoners of war with humanity. The religion of the Vendes consisted in numerous ceremonies. Their priesthood exercised a powerful influence; and the great temple of Swantewit, on the promontory of ARCONA, in the island of *Rügen*, with its idols and wealth, was the great national sanctuary of all the western tribes. The Vendes were hunters, agriculturists, and pirates. VINETA (Wollin), on the Baltic, was their capital.

II. The LIÆCHS or *Polani* (Poles or Polaks),[33] the second branch of western Slavi, occupied the banks of the Vistula and the Oder, and touched on the south the CHROWATS (Croats).

III. The CZEKHO-SLOVAKS in Bohemia and Moravia, were a powerful people under the mythical queen, the fair Libussa; they attained early a certain cultivation. Agriculture, cattle-breeding, and forays on their neighbors, were their occupations; they brought their horses, prisoners, and wax across the mountains to the Germans on the Elbe, where commerce was flourishing, until in the subsequent period the German Dukes began the military missionary work among them.

IV. SLAVINI or SLOVINI—*Sclavini*—on the east, in central Russia, and the ANTES on the lower Dniester, where they bordered on the advancing Bulgarians. Large cities in the interior were already in the possession of an active commerce. KIEW on the Dnieper, is said to have been built as early as 450, during the dominion of the Huns. SMOLENSK farther north. NOVOGOROD on the Lake of Ilmen, became, by the activity of its inhabitants and its wealth, a mighty republic, and the emporium of Indian commerce during the Middle Ages.

V. THE LITHAUANIANS, a *Slavo-Finnic* race, on the west of the Sloveni, touched the boundaries of the numerous CHUDISH or FINNIC nations on the Baltic, extending through Finnland northward to the Icy Ocean.

[33] The termination *ak* is a diminutive; thus, Slave, Slavak; Serbe, Serbak; Morlan, Morlak; Russ, Russak.

V. Kingdom of the Bulgarians.

108. Position and Extent.—The *Bulgarians* appear for the first time in the second half of the fifth century on the west of Mount Oural. They were then divided into two hordes, the black Bulgars and the Wolochs or white Bulgars, both of Tartar origin; but later much mingled with Sclavonians, whose language they adopted. From the eastern frontiers of Europe, the black Bulgarians followed in the trace of the Huns, on their march toward the Danube. In the beginning of the sixth century they cross the Bulga (Volga), from which some historians suppose them to have taken their name, and they advance upon the Danube, whence they carry devastation and misery into the Justinian Empire.

VI. The Kingdom of the Huns or Uturguri.

109. The Uturgurian Huns.—The downfall of the empire of the Huns had been even more sudden than its rise. The death of Attila on the Danube in 453, was the signal for all the enslaved nations to break their chains. The most frightful disorder spread through the camp at Buda, where the savage sons of so many various mothers, sword in hand, disputed with one another the inheritance of the world's spoils; the Ostrogoths, Lombards, Gepidæ, and Herules united in alliance against the common oppressor. The tremendous battle between all these fierce barbarian nations took place on the river *Netad* (Neutra), in Pannonia. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila fell, after wonders of bravery, and with him 30,000 Huns. His brother, Dengish, gathered the relics of the still formidable nation, and maintained himself until 470 on the banks of the lower Danube; but the splendid camp of Attila at Buda, with the whole of Dacia and Pannonia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became divided among the victors—the Gepidæ, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards. Surrounded and oppressed

by his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengish was at last confined to the circle of his wagons. He perished on the Danube, and Irnac, the youngest son of Attila, retired with the hordes to the Volga, where we find them in 526 encamped on the plain of the Kuban river, between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, divided into the two kingdoms of the Kuturgour and Uturgour Huns. From thence they conquered the whole Tauric Chersonese, with the exception of the important cities of Cherson and Theodosia, which were bravely defended by their Roman garrisons. But the other towns, Repoi and Phanagoris, situated near the Cimmerian Bosporus, were taken by the Barbarians, who, uniting with the Bulgarians, recrossed the Danube and appeared under Zaber-Chan, in 558, before trembling Constantinople herself. They passed the long wall of Anastasius without opposition; but were routed and discomfited by the well-known exploit of old Belisarius. On the return of Zaber-Chan beyond the Danube, the Avars fell upon the Huns, subdued them, or mixed up with them in such a manner that, from the year 572, no mention is ever made in history of the Huns as a separate nation, though it is both interesting and important to know that the Avars are called indifferently Huns, or Avars, by all the western chroniclers in the time of Charlemagne, which distinctly proves the union or amalgamation of those fierce Asiatic nations.

II. CENTRAL EUROPE.

VII. KINGDOMS OF THE FRANKS.

109.[b] Extent of the Monarchy at the Death of Clovis. —Extraordinary changes have taken place in Gaul since our last visit in the year 395, at the death of Theodosius the Great. The invasion of the Vandals, Suevi, Alani, and Burgundians in 406–410, had been followed by the devastating campaign of Attila in 451, and after his defeat at Châlons-sur-

Marne, the Franks under Clovis had crossed the Somme, and during the lethargic inactivity of the last emperors and the intestine troubles of the western empire, occupied in 486 the whole of northern Gaul as far as the Loire. The ambitious and treacherous Clovis then vanquished the Ripuarian Frankish chiefs on the Rhine with the dagger and the axe, and the powerful nations of the Burgundians, the Alemanni, and the Visigoths, with the edge of the sword. He extended the dominion of his warlike and perfidious people over the greater part of modern France and Germany, and left this immense inheritance to his sons, at his death in the year 511.[34] At that period the Frankish kingdom reached from the mouth of the Rhine, on the north, to the base of the Pyrenees on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean west across the Rhine, to the *Wirraha* (Werrah) and *Almona* (Altmühl) on the east.[35] This mighty empire embraced all modern France, with the exception of the ancient province of Narbonensis on the shores of the Mediterranean, which earlier had been occupied by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. The country between the upper Loire, the Rhone and the Alps, belonged to the Burgundians, who, though vanquished, still remained nominally independent of the Frankish despot. But Clovis had subdued the southwestern provinces of Germany, inhabited by the Alemanni, who after their defeat near Tolbiac in 496, had become subjects, or at least tributary allies of the Franks. We will now review the component parts of this first modern empire, in the order in which the different provinces were joined to the crown of Clovis.

[34] Gens Francorum inclyta, fortis in armis, perfida, audax, velox, ferox et aspera!

[35] Henry Luden, in his excellent history of the German nation, says that Clovis did not pursue the Alemanni across the Rhine.—(Vol. 3, page 70.) Prof. Henry Leo supposes the river Neckar, in Alemannia, to have been the frontier; we have followed the map of Dr. Spruner.

Conquests of Clovis, a. d. 486–511.

110. Provinces and Principal Cities.—The continual incursions of the Franks had already long ago depopulated the formerly so flourishing Belgian and Germanic provinces of the expiring Roman empire. Most of the cities lay in ruins; the villages were burnt, and the fields neglected, nor could the indolent Franks even by means of their Roman prisoners, now serfs and subjects, remove the evil they had brought over the country. Colonia (Cologne, Köln), on the Rhine, was the capital of the Ripuarian Franks. Tolbiac (Zülpich), a few miles off, was the battle-field on which Clovis prostrated the Alemannic confederacy at a single blow, in 496. Suessiones (Soissons), the last city possessed by the Romans. The Roman Præfect Syagrius, was here routed by Clovis, and his fleeing legions gave Clovis an easy victory, by seeking refuge behind the Loire. Remi (Rheims), the archiepiscopal see of Bishop Remigerus, beheld the ceremony of the conversion of Clovis and his Franks; it was there at the baptism of the Barbarian in the river, that the prelate pronounced the well-known words which have rung through centuries: "*Mitis depone collum, Sicamber, adora quod incendisti—incende quod adorasti.*" "Bow down thy head, oh Sicambrian! with humility—adore what thou hast burnt, burn what thou hast adored." Parisii (Paris) became soon the capital of the Franks; Clovis resided there, and the ancient church of Saint Sulpice, where he was buried, is still standing.

111. Gallia Armorica recognized the supremacy of the Franks after the victory of Tolbiac. That province had then a wider extent than the ancient Roman *Armorica propria.* The latter consisted only of the Brittanic peninsula, while the Armorican confederacy for mutual defence, had been formed by all the Gallic cities and states between the Seine and the Loire, who, having found themselves without protection by the Romans, had armed and united for the salvation of all. These

gallant people had beaten back the Vandals and Suevi, in 406, and having been reinforced by fleeing Britons from the Island, who sought refuge against the Anglo-Saxons, the Peninsula was called *Britannia Minor*, to distinguish it from the invaded *Britannia Major*, Great Britain. We cannot, with certainty, determine the extent of this confederacy, but it seems to have embraced all the towns between the Loire and the Seine; the following cities belonged to it: ROTOMAGUS (Rouen), on the Seine; BAJOCA (Bayeux); ABRINCA (Avranches); CARNOTIS (Chartres); REDONES (Rennes); and ANDEGAVI (Anger)—all between and westward of those rivers. AURELIANUM (Orléans), a populous and strongly fortified city on the Loire, had been most heroically defended against Attila by its bishop, Saint Aignan, who commanded the citizens on the walls. Turones (Tours), and NAMNETE (Nantes), on the same river, and VENEDI CASTRUM (Vannes), on the coast of the ocean, were the most thriving cities in this part of Gaul, which hitherto had escaped the havoc of war.

112. AQUITANIA (Aquitaine), the last and most important of the conquests of Clovis in Gaul, comprised all the beautiful and fertile territory between the Loire and the Pyrenees. It had, for one century, been the seat of the Visigoths, who had already arranged themselves quite comfortably in the country, with Toulouse for their capital, thus securing their possessions beyond the mountains in Spain. But the Visigoths, being Arian heretics, were hated by the clergy and the Roman population of Aquitania, and when their king, Alaric II., fell in the battle near Pictavis (Poitiers), 507, against Clovis, they lost the whole rich province, and remained only in the doubtful possession of Septimania, the narrow coastland between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. BITURICÆ (Bourges) and ARVERNOS—*Clarus Mons*—(Clermont), on the *Elaver* (Allier); BURDIGALA (Bordeaux), and TOLOSA (Toulouse), on the *Garumna* (Garonne); ELUSA (Auch), in the south,—all these held the first rank among the Aquitanian cities.

Division of the Frank Empire among the Merovingian Princes.

113. The large empire which Clovis had founded was, at his death, in A. D. 511, divided between his four sons—Thierry, Chlodomir, Childebert, and Chlothaire—and it formed still four kingdoms in 527. Every one of the four kings possessed a portion of his land lying between the Loire and the Rhine, —the first conquest of the Franks—and another part in Aquitaine, the new acquisition from the Visigoths, where the Franks had not yet obtained firm footing, but which they loved particularly for its fertility, and the richness of its wines and other productions.

114. I. Kingdom of Suessiones (Soissons), on the north-west, extended from the capital in the south, northward to the sea, and eastward to the Mosa (Meuse) and the Rhine—with the cities Tornacum (Tournay), the residence of Childeric the father of Clovis; Taruenna (Thérouanne) and Camaracum (Cambray), the capitals of two Frankish petty kings whom Clovis had slaughtered; Ambiani (Amiens), and Laudunum (Laon).

In Aquitaine the king of Soissons possessed the central cities Limovicas (Limoges), and Petragorium (Périgueux).

115. II. The kingdom of Parisii (Paris), in the centre, extended from the river Somme westward beyond the Garonne, embracing the coast of Aquitaine. Parisii was the capital, Meldunum (Melun), Meldæ (Meaux), Rotomagus (Rouen), Ebroica (Evreux), Redones (Rennes), and Namnete (Nantes), the principal cities. In Aquitaine, the king held Pictavis (Poitiers), three leagues from which, on the banks of the *Clinnus* (Clain), was the celebrated field of Vouillé—*Campus Vocladensis*—where Clovis, by rapidity, skill, and bravery, defeated and destroyed the Visigothic army in 507—Santones (Saintes), and Burdigala (Bordeaux), were flourishing cities.

116. III. The kingdom of AURELIANUM (Orléans), south and east of the former, of smaller extent, on both banks of the Loire from AUTISSIODORUM (Auxerre), westward to ANDEGAVI (Angers). MEDUANA (Le Mans), the former residence of a Frankish petty king, slaughtered by order of Clovis. In northern Aquitaine, BITURICÆ (Bourges), on the Avarus (Evres), belonged to king Chlodomir.

117. IV. The kingdom of METTIS (Metz), the most extensive of the four, because it comprised all the eastern provinces of the Franks; from Colonia, on the Rhine, to Tolosa, lately the splendid capital of the Visigoths, on the Garonne. It contained besides, on the right bank of the Rhine, *Old France*, the homestead of the Franks and of the tributary Alemanni. METTIS was the capital; TREVIRIS (Trèves), rebuilt from its ashes. CATALAUNI (Châlons sur Marne), south of which, on the Catalaunian plains, was fought that terrible battle between Attila with his Huns and allies, and the Roman general Aëtius, in which 150,000 warriors perished on the field, and the power of the Huns was broken for ever (A. D. 451). Other cities were TRECÆ (Troyes), and ARVERNOS or CLARAMONTIS (Clermont). In Aquitania, CADURCUM (Cahors), RUTENA (Rhodéz), and ALBIGE (Alby).

118. GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION OF THE FRANKS.—Clovis was only a leader at the head of his Frankish LEUDES —*leute*—or followers in Gaul; he had no regular government; he depended on the good will of his fierce companions. But his continual victories consolidated his power; the Romish church gave him pomp and titles, and the Byzantine emperor purple and dignities — all combined raised him above all his rivals, who soon perished, one after the other, by his dagger. The conquered lands were distributed among the veteran soldiers; the army formed the *mallum* or public assembly, which was called together in spring on the *Champ de Mars*. The cities continued to be governed by the Roman law with their own municipalities. A royal count or *Graf*, held the executive power, collected the duties and pre-

sided over the courts of justice, where the Franks had settled down among the native Romans. In the rural districts the peasantry remained serfs as they had been before the conquest. The German division in *gauen* was introduced. Ten free estates, *allodia*, formed a *zehnt* or community governed by a *Zehntman*, or Bailiff. Ten communities again made a *mark* —Anglo-Saxon hundred—of which the governor was a centenarius, or *cent-graf*. An uncertain number of marks formed a gau or gheve (county), with a gau-graf as military and civil commander. The body of the Frankic warriors possessed the conquered lands, yet they left the vanquished Romans in the enjoyment of *usus fructus* as vassals. The Romans formed two classes: 1, Possessors or *lides* (vassals) having half the *wehr geld* (security money) with which the life of a freeborn Frank was secured; 2, Tributary Romans, with a wehr-geld similar to the serf. The Franks formed three classes: 1, Salian Franks, the conquerors or nobles; 2, German freemen, found in the country; 3, barbarian allies under the Salic law. The Salic lands were held by military tenure, and could not go to the females.[36] The possessor was the baron (wehr or warman); he held with battle-axe and buckler under the *bannum*. Entirely different was the *allodium*[37]—*sors*—or lot of land, given to those veterans who retired from the retinue or from the army; this was *real estate*, and could be alienated.

[36] *Salica*, not from *sala* (*domus*), but from *Terra Salica*, that is, *terra paterna*, the Salian Franks being the leading tribe that gave their name to the patrimony.

[37] *Od*, or *odel*, in the ancient Teutonic and Scandinavian languages, signified riches, property, or landed estate. *Al-od* is all property, the whole free estate, which the Franks rendered in Latin by *allodium*. The free peasants in Norway are still called *Odels-bönder*, freeholders or yeomen. *Feh* or *feo*—in Danish *fœ*—signified cattle, money, and every kind of movable property; it denoted, likewise, the pay of the warrior: thus, *feh-od* can literally be translated by paid wages, or acquired income—the reward for rendered service. In the Latin of the Middle Ages this was expressed by *feodum* and *feudum*, of which we form our *fief* and *feud*.

The Mayor Domus (afterwards so important an official) held the military cash as the director of the royal *fiscus;* he was chosen by the warriors, and considered their patron against the king; thus the influence of this officer arose from his position at the head of the army. The king's companions *in trust* were the Antrustiones, with particular privileges. The other warriors were the leudes, among whom the estates were distributed. Immense were the prerogatives of the Romish clergy. They flattered Clovis, and shut their eyes to all his enormous crimes. The Franks loved show and glitter, and soon took a certain polish, though the proud Romans still ridiculed their homely dress and unwieldy arms. Clovis planted the germ of lawful liberty, by the enfranchisement of the Church and by the bonds of the feudal system, which united the warring Germanic tribes and prepared the formation of large national states. Clovis marched from town to town at the head of his *leudes;* but his successors, the Merovingians, lived retired in their rural palaces, far away from the Roman cities. One hundred and sixty of those *villas* were scattered through the provinces of the four kingdoms; mostly simple, but profitable farms. The mansion of the *longhaired* King was surrounded by barns, courts, stables for horses and cattle, poultry-yards, and dove-cotes; the gardens were planted with useful vegetables; the various trades and labors of agriculture, even the arts of hunting and fishing were exercised by servile hands for the pleasure of the king. He lived among his vassals like a farmer, and the whole establishment was conducted on the principle of private economy. To the mallum, or national assembly, the king and queen used to drive in a clumsy cart, drawn by oxen. The Merovingians became the victims of their sloth and their crimes—that the Carlovingians might shine forth as their heroes and successors.

VIII. Kingdom of the Burgundians.

119. Extent, Division, and Principal Cities.—The Burgundians had in A. D. 410, stopped at the foot of the Alps, and occupied the valleys of Helvetia and the Rhone, while their fierce companions, the Vandals, pushed on to Spain. Clovis had attempted their subjection, but the Burgundian power did not sink until his sons repeated the blow in 534, when the Burgundian states were divided among the Frankish princes, and the Ostrogoths, under Theodoric, possessed themselves of the coast-lands of Provence. The cities in Burgundy were flourishing. Janua (Geneva) on Lake Leman.—Besontio (Besançon) on the Dubis (Doubs).—Cabilonum (Chalôns) on the Arar (Saône)—the capital and the finest city of Burgundy during the period of its independence.—Vienna (Vienne), on the left bank of the Rhone.—Avenio (Avignon), more south, celebrated for its brave resistance against the victorious Clovis, who was forced to raise the siege on the approach of the Ostrogoths. The Burgundians had concluded a compact with the native Romans, by which the latter agreed to surrender to the victors two-thirds of their estates, the half of their forests, gardens, and houses, and a third of the whole number of their slaves. During fifty years, every freeman obtained this *allodium* (lot) from his Burgundian lord. The estates were hereditary. Pasture and agriculture were the business of freemen, while all mechanical employments, including arts, belonged to the servile class. Thus the ancient Germanic manners of the Burgundians were long maintained in their primitive simplicity. Wives were purchased, and they might be dismissed in case of poisoning or witchcraft. The crimes of the Burgundian dynasty hastened the overthrow of the nation. The Franks, to revenge their queen Chlotilda, laid waste Burgundy with fire and sword. When Gondemar fell in 534, the kingdom became extinct, and the family of Clovis governed Burgundy by a duke, and the country on both slopes

of Mount Jura by a patrician. The Burgundians were the most humane and civilized of the barbarian tribes that settled in the Roman provinces.

IX. Kingdom of the Thuringians.

120. Position, Extent, and Downfall.—In the centre of Germany, south of the Langobards and the Saxons, the Hermunduri and Turoni, with relics of other Germanic tribes, had formed the powerful kingdom of Thuringia, embracing the northern part of the present Franconia and the Saxon principalities north of the Thüringer Wald. This empire became so flourishing toward the middle of the fifth century, that the Thuringian king, Basinus, was strong enough to check the advance of the Sclavonian invaders beyond the Elbe, on the east, and to carry on bloody wars with the Franks on the Mayn and Rhine. Basinus was at last defeated by Clovis, and Thuringia remained subject to the Franks; but his sons restored its independence, until, during a civil war between king Hermanfried and his brothers in 530, the Frankish king Dietrich (Thierry), in alliance with the rapacious Saxons, succeeded in overthrowing the Thuringian dynasty. Hermanfried was defeated on the river Unstrut, captured and stabbed; the Saxons occupied all the lands on the Elbe and Weser north of the forests; and Dietrich united southern Thuringia with the Frankish empire, yet the vanquished nation was permitted to be governed by their native dukes. Schidingi (now Scheidungen, near Naumburg), on the Unstrut, was the capital. The Thuringians were celebrated for their agriculture and studs; their beautiful horses, sent as presents to King Theodoric, excited the admiration of the Goths in Italy.

X. Kingdom of the Longobards.

121. Position.—This Scandinavian nation, whom we left on the Elbe (82), had continued their march southward, and settled

among the Carpathian mountains, where they shared the common fate with the other Germanic tribes who were vanquished by Attila and forced to follow his banner. Yet on the death of the mighty conqueror in 452, the Longobards, uniting with their brethren the Ostrogoths, the Gepidæ and Herules, broke their chains, and, driving the Huns back toward Mount Caucasus, they established themselves on the left bank of the Danube, from the Margus (March) near Vienna, eastward to the Theiss, where they remained until their victory over the Gepidæ, and their descent into Italy under Alboin in A. D. 568.

XI. Kingdom of the Gepidæ.

122. Position.—The Gepidæ (90) were kindred to the Goths, and a highly remarkable people. Their King Ardaric, uniting with Goths and Longobards, defeated Ellac the son of Attila, in the terrible battle on the banks of the river Netad (Neutra), in Pannonia, and expelled the Huns beyond the Carpathians. The Gepidæ then divided the rich spoils of their victory with their allies, and formed a great kingdom in ancient Pannonia and Dacia (Hungary and Transylvania), bordering south and west on the Danube, which separated them from the Byzantine empire and the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. On the northwest they bordered on their allies the Longobards, with whom they soon entered into those hostile relations of rivalry and national hatred which a century later (in 567) terminated with the total destruction of the brave and high-minded Gepidian nation. The Carpathian mountains protected their northern and eastern frontier from the invasions of the Bulgarians, Avars, and other Tartaric tribes, who were already advancing from Mount Oural and the Caspian Sea. Etzelburg (Buda-Pesth), on the Danube, the splendid Oriental camp and capital of Attila, became the residence of the Gepidian Kings, who, like their brethren the Goths and Vandals, soon yielded to the influence of the milder climate, and changed their austere northern manners for the luxury and indulgences of the South.

III. SOUTHERN EUROPE

XII. KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS.

123. Extent and Division.—The most flourishing of the kingdoms founded by the Germanic nations on the ruins of the western Roman Empire, was that of the Visigoths in Spain. After the Vandals had abandoned (in 429) the provinces which they occupied, the Visigoths, under their king Euric, vanquished the Romans, subdued the Suevi in 585, and thus remained the only conquerors of the Peninsula. The greatest extension had their empire under the just mentioned king Euric, during the latter half of the fifth century, when they possessed besides Spain the entire southwestern part of Gaul as far as the Loire, with Aquitania and Narbonensis. The capital of their empire was the populous and beautiful Tolosa (Toulouse), still glittering with so many monuments of Roman magnificence. But when on the advance of Clovis with his Franks, the Roman population of Aquitania broke forth in rebellion, and the Visigoth King Alaric II. was defeated and killed in the battle near Poitiers in 507, all the Trans-Pyrenean possessions were lost to the invaders, with the exception of the coast-land of Septimania. The Ostrogoths from Italy then occupied Provence, which was afterwards incorporated with Burgundy and fell to the Franks. The Byzantine Romans still possessed the southeastern coast of Spain on the Mediterranean, where they strengthened their garrisons in the important commercial cities of that region, after the subjection of the Vandals in Africa by Belisarius in 534. They even extended the Roman rule in the interior as far as Corduba; but the Visigothic kings, Sisebut and Swinthila, expelled them at last (616–624) entirely from Spain; nay, the former of these kings even crossed the Straits and occupied the cities Septum and Tingis, in the ancient Roman province of Tingitana. The wild mountaineers in the

Cantabrian mountains, the AREVACI, RUCCONES, BERONES, and VARDULI, who had so long preserved their old political independence and their native dialects, were subdued by King Leuwigild in 574, and new fortresses were erected to check their forays into the lowlands. The Visigoths retained the ancient Roman division of Spain in *Tarracona, Carthaginiensis, Bætica, Emerita, Toletum, and Bracara.*

124. The PRINCIPAL CITIES were, in SEPTIMANIA, the seven towns which had given the province its name, NARBONA (Narbonne), for a time the new capital of the monarchy, after the loss of Tolosa, in 507. CARCASSONA (Carcassonne), where the victorious Clovis kept the son of Alaric II., Gesalic, besieged, after the battle of Poitiers and the death of his father. ELENA (Elna), at the northern base of the Pyrenees. BITERRÆ, (Béziers), MAGDALONA (Maguelonne), LODEVA (Lodève), and NEMAUSUS (Nîmes). In Spain we find the most flourishing cities of the late Roman empire. BARCINONA (Barcelona), on the northeastern coast of the Mediterranean, where Astolphus was assassinated, shortly after his arrival in Spain, and where Gesalic was defeated by Ubbas, the Ostrogoth general. TARRACO (Tarragona), CARTHAGO NOVA (Carthagena), long in the possession of the Byzantine Greeks; AUGUSTA EMERITA (Merida) on the river Anas; CORDUBA (Cordova), and HISPALIS (Seville) on the Bætis, likewise long defended by the Greeks; and last of all TOLETUM (Toledo), on the Tagus, the splendid capital, and archiepiscopal seat of the later Visigoth empire, where many important councils were held during the 6th and 7th centuries.

125. GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION.—The constitution of the Visigothic empire received a very early development. The kings were elective; but the royal descendants had pretensions to the crown. The kings enjoyed a greater power than among other German tribes. King Leuwigild donned the royal purple, and circumscribed the arrogance of the nobles; but the clergy exercised a most dangerous influence, and intolerance against Arians and Jews already flashed forth

in violence and cruelty. Toledo became the capital; the court was splendid; the ceremonials and costumes were imitations from Constantinople. The *Palatines* or court officials, and the *Gardingi* or body guards, formed the nobility; counts governed the provinces; the Gothic nobles, by the perfect security of Spain, gave themselves up to sport and rural pursuits, and neglected those military exercises by which they had subdued the Roman world. The Goths being the few, and the civilized Roman inhabitants the many, it is natural that the Goths soon attempted to speak the *lingua vulgare* of those times: from the curious mixture of Gothic and vulgar Latin, arose the noble and beautiful Castilian, perhaps the most sonorous, regular, and elegant of all the modern Romanic languages. The Visigothic laws were humane and just; they were nearly a copy of the Theodosian code, applied to the now mixed races of Goths, Romans, Suevi and Alani. The experiment succeeded, because within a century they all formed only one nationality. Spain, in its secluded position, enjoyed a great tranquillity during the Visigothic sway. Some ports on the eastern coast still belonged to the Eastern Roman empire; but the Greeks gave them up, and returned in 624. The Suevi in the northwest recognized the supremacy of the Visigothic king; yet never was any elective monarchy exposed to more terrible convulsions than those which shook the Visigothic throne. The passions of envy and revenge played their unhappy game on a greater scale than in any other realm, and at last caused the sudden overthrow of the Gothic sway in Spain.

XIII. Kingdom of the Suevi.

126. Extent and Cities.—The kingdom of the Suevi, or Alemanni, as they sometimes are called, was founded in A. D. 409, in the ancient Gallicia, which this people in the beginning divided with their companions, the Vandals, and some bands of Alani, who had escaped the Huns, and joined the

large Germanic armies on the Rhine. The Suevi settled in Asturia, Leon, Gallicia, and a portion of the modern Portugal. Their frontier was the Durius and Tagus, while the Alani occupied some districts of Lusitania, south of the Tagus, where they disappear altogether. When the Vandals crossed over to Africa in 428, the Suevi remained in quiet possession of northwestern Spain, though they were not strong enough entirely to subdue the native population. On the appearance of the Visigoths the struggle was renewed, and the Suevian king Recchiaris was defeated and beheaded in 456, by King Theodoric of the Visigoths. The Suevi still made a stand, until at last Leuwigild, in 585, united both crowns, and thus secured the tranquillity of the peninsula.

XIV. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

127. Extension and Division.—At the moment when Justinian ascended the throne of Constantinople, the founder of the Ostrogoth monarchy, and its most illustrious sovereign, Theodoric, had just died, leaving his nephew a splendid empire, which embraced the coasts of the Adriatic and Tuscan seas, and extended from the banks of the Danube and the Alps on the north, to the southern promontories of Sicily on the south, and from the banks of the Rhone on the west, to the union of the Save with the Danube on the east, where its limits touched those of the Byzantine empire. Theodoric had, in 489–93, made an easy conquest of Italy, after the defeat of Odoacer and his Herules in the battles near Verona, and the surrender of Ravenna; and by his prudence, moderation and benevolence, and the brilliant talents of his minister, Cassiodorus, he peaceably formed that mighty and well-organized kingdom, which was destined so soon to crumble into dust by the incapacity and frailty of his unhappy daughter, Amalasuntha.

128. Provinces and Cities.—This extensive monarchy was composed of provinces that had belonged to the Western

Empire, and which Theodoric permitted to preserve their earlier names and limits. These provinces from northwest to southeast were the following:

129. I. PROVINCIA ARELATENSIS, or *Province of Marseille*, at a subsequent period well known under the name of Provence. It consisted of the whole part of ancient Gaul contained between the Rhone, the Durance, the Maritime Alps, and the Mediterranean. Theodoric formed of it, in 511, a new *Præfecture of the Gauls*, the metropolis of which was Arelate or Arles. Near that city he had surprised and defeated the Franks in 507; and the citizens hailed with joy the Gothic rule, which seemed to secure them the important privileges and immunities they had formerly enjoyed under the Roman empire. This acquisition was extended, in 523, by the cession which the king of Burgundy made to Theodoric of the Provincia Septentrionalis, north of the Durance, with the rich and flourishing towns of CARPENTORACTE (Carpentras), ARAUSIO (Orange), DINIA (Digne), and VALENTIA (Valence).

II. RHÆTIA MERIDIONALIS, likewise denominated *Rhætia Ostrogothica*, to distinguish it from Rhætia Septentrionalis, which belonged to the Frankish empire—both situated on the upper Danube—where the uncertainty of the frontiers between the two nations gave rise to diverse embassies and military demonstrations.

130. III. ITALIA, with its ancient subdivisions from the times of the Roman empire. It was conquered by Theodoric, as we have mentioned, after three successful battles against Odoacer, the Herulian king; the first stood on the banks of the *Sontius* (Isonzo), a small river that empties into the Adriatic; the second before Verona in the northeast of Italy, and the third on the banks of the Addua (Adda), whence Odoacer fled to Ravenna, where he perished. The most important cities during the Ostrogothic period were: RAVENNA, situated in the midst of the lagunes or swamps on the Adriatic coast. It had become a splendid city, while serving as refuge and capital to the last emperors, and to Odoacer, who kept the whole Ostro-

gothic nation occupied before its almost impregnable fortifications for nearly three years. Ravenna became afterwards the residence of the Ostrogothic kings, and the traveller still admires there the sepulchre of Theodoric, the cupola of which consists of a single immense rock, being thirty-four feet in diameter. ROME had already suffered terribly during the two sieges and pillages of the Visigoths, under Alaric, in 408–410; and by the still greater devastation in 455, from the barbarous Generic and his Vandals. Poor Rome was afterwards taken by her own mercenary bands, the Herules; and, a fifth time, by Theodoric and his Ostrogoths, who, however, treated the fallen city with that deference and sympathy which the ancient metropolis of the civilized world merited; nay, he restored many of its crumbling monuments, preserved its senate and municipal administration, and won the hearts of its boisterous multitude by granting them *panem et circenses*. MILAN, the strongly fortified and industrious metropolis, likewise received Theodoric with enthusiasm, when he descended at the head of his wandering nation into the plain of the Padus. VERONA, situated on a mountain range, defending the defiles on the river *Athesis* (Adige), was his frequent residence, and he built there palaces and other public buildings, of which some ruins are still seen. PAVIA, on the *Ticinus*, where the virtuous and eloquent Boëthius was unjustly confined, condemned, and executed in 525—the only dark spot in the bright buckler of Theodoric. SPOLETIUM, then an important city in central Italy. TERRACINA, the ancient Anxur, on its picturesque promontory, still crowned with a fortress, and the ruinous palace of the Ostrogoth king. NAPLES saw again her joyous days by the residence of the most distinguished Romans and Goths, statesmen and warriors, Cassiodorus and others, who used the cure of her hot springs, and revelled in her delicious climate.[38] TARENTUM, on the gulf to which it gave its name.

[38] See the pleasant passages in the letters of Cassiodorus, wherein he describes the beauty and fertility of Campania. In his affected language, he calls the wine *cruentus liquor, purpura potabilis, violeum nectar!*" Var. 8, 31; 9, 6, 11; 10, 14; 12, 14, 15.

SCYLLACIUM, in Calabria, with a convent to which Cassiodorus retired in old age and died, after having served gloriously and faithfully Theodoric and his successors.

131. IV. SICILIA belonged to the Gothic empire. SYRACUSÆ was still the capital of the island; second in rank was LILYBÆUM on the western promontory (now Marsala, so celebrated for its wines). It was by Theodoric given as a dower to the Vandal king Thrasimund, who married his sister Amalafried. That the Vandals continued to occupy that important fortress is proved by an inscription lately found there, "*Fines inter Gothos et Vandalos.*"

132. V. ILLYRICUM OCCIDENTALE comprised all the provinces of the ancient diocese of that name, and formed the eastern part of Theodoric's possessions, highly important by its position, but dreadfully devastated and depopulated by the wars of the Huns, Lombards, Gepidæ, and other barbarian nations, who were then contending with one another on the banks of the Danube. Theodoric sent colonists; he rebuilt Sirmium and Singidunum on the *Savus*, and fortified the defences of the Illyrian mountains with castles and garrisons. BOIODURUM (now Innstadt), on the upper Danube at the union of the *Ænus* (Inn) with that river, became an important city—so likewise SISCIA (Sisseck) on the Save, and SALONA on the Adriatic coast.

133. Italy had suffered an awful devastation and destruction of its inhabitants during the many different invasions of the fifth century; but the arrival of nearly a million of Goths in 489, produced a favorable change. Odoacer had distributed one-third of the arable lands of Italy among his Herulian warriors. These, Theodoric, after his victory, gave to his Ostrogoths, who thus obtained landed property, for which they paid the same taxes as the native Romans. It is a well-known fact, that at the close of the fifth century, nearly all the estates were in the hands of the wealthy senators of Rome; it was, therefore, not the lower classes who suffered by those partitions of property, but the nobility. The great mass of the Italian people had no landed property, and they continued as they

had done before to live by their labor, by royal offices, and the supplies of bread and wine which Theodoric took care to furnish to the idle Romans, as well as the spectacles of the amphitheatre. Yet the division of lands among the invaders seems to have been circumscribed to northern Italy, where we find the Gothic nation more thickly settled. But the Goths had been too much estranged from the quiet occupations of agriculture, on a sudden to change the plough for the sword. They remained principally engaged in military exercises and hunting, and left the tilling and gardening of their farms to their numerous serfs. Nor did the two different nationalities of Germans and Romans ever mix; religion, language, habits, all kept them asunder. The Goths had, like most of the other Germanic tribes, embraced the abhorred Arian heresy. They were continually armed; large bodies united for their regular drill, and their entire organization was military. Theodoric foresaw that the relaxation of their discipline beneath the sunny sky of Italy would become their bane; he commanded their gatherings and manoeuvres; he settled warlike bands of the Alemanni in Rhætia; Gepidæ, and the wrecks of the Herules in Illyricum and on the banks of the Padus; and he improved the breed of his war-horses by the establishment of large studs in the Apulian plains. He was anxious to instruct his Barbarians in the arts of Rome, the building of fortresses, palaces, aqueducts, and the draining of the Pontine swamps; but he prohibited them the enjoyments of her literature, and said: "That he who trembles at the whip of the schoolmaster, will always flinch at the flashing of the sword." Theodoric, on the other hand, made no alteration in the internal division and organization of the country and its government; he left the vanquished Romans their privileges and liberties, as they called the vain names of republic, consuls, senate, and municipal magistracies. Romans and Ostrogoths lived peacefully together on terms of temporary friendship or forbearance. The blue-eyed, fair-haired Goth, so proud of his long, golden ringlets, hanging down over his shoulders, and the beard that

covered his mouth, continued to dress in skins and furs, wore his long sleeves and wide trowsers tied at the knees and ankles, by leather straps, and stalked about in large brogues, with the heavy broadsword at his girdle, and the huge buckler on his arm—while his neighbor, the elegant Roman, in his short tunic, his knees and arms bare, his hair short cropped, his chin smoothly shaved, with his large *toga* gracefully covering his shoulders, regarded with horror his unwelcome hyperborean guest, though he in silence admired the domestic virtues of the Northmen, the modesty and chastity of the Gothic women, and the affectionate relations between parents and children. Nay, the contemporaneous Greek and Roman writers give the unanimous testimony, that the quiet and beneficent reign of Theodoric might be considered as the most perfect example of the happiness which a kind-hearted and generous prince could spread around him. The precious collection of original letters and decrees of Theodoric, written and published by his active secretary Cassiodorus Senator, gives the most detailed and interesting description of the progress and development of the country during this period of unclouded prosperity. We admire the attentive care of the indefatigable Ostrogothic monarch in promoting every branch of political economy, and we read with delight the glowing description in Cassiodorus of the cultivation and restored salubrity of Italy. There was abundance of wine, oil, fruit, grain, even for export. He praises the gardens of Reggio and Squillace, the beauty of Bajæ, near Naples, the precious wines of Verona, which were duly appreciated at the royal board, and it appears from his enthusiastic account of the vintage, that greater care was then taken with the noble wines of Italy than at the present time. Theodoric was the greatest character of the sixth century, a true practical genius, who went to the point in all his undertakings and did his work thoroughly; and it is interesting to the philosopher to see how much an intelligent monarch, assisted by such a statesman as Cassiodorus Senator, was able to create and establish in a reign of thirty-three years. He

found Italy (489), a desert covered with ruins, swamps and forests, where the wild beasts were roaming—and he left it (526), a garden, a flourishing country, repeopled with the healthy and active Gothic race, and restored to commerce, agriculture, industry and a higher civilization, which might have been of lasting benefit to humanity, if another bright genius like his could have completed the amalgamation of the Roman and Gothic elements, and secured the permanent happiness of the two races. But the incapacity of his successors, and the ambition of Justinian, soon brought on those calamitous wars which terminated thirty years later, with the renewed desolation of Italy, and the total destruction of the Ostrogothic nation.

XV. Kingdom of the Vandals.

134. Their Possessions in Europe and Africa.—After the easy conquest of Spain in 428, the Vandals were invited by the persecuted Donatist sectarians, to invade Africa, and their enterprising king Genseric, crossing the straits, soon overran the whole of northern Africa, from the coast of the Atlantic Ocean eastward to the great Syrtis, and building a numerous fleet at Carthage, he subjected the islands of the Mediterranean, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic isles. His roving Vandals became now as daring corsairs on the sea, as they formerly had been irresistible cavaliers on the main land. Genseric sacked Rome in 455, and the Vandals extended their piratical expeditions even to the Peloponnesus, where they were defeated by the Maniatæ, the modern Spartans. He undertook no changes in the government of Africa, and Latin was the official language among the Vandals, but they treated the poor African Romans with cruelty and scorn; they deprived them of the best lands, exacted immense taxes, and excited the bitterest feelings of revenge in the bosoms of their serfs. Nor could the Vandals get a firm footing in that extensive country. The Moorish tribes from

Mount Atlas drove them from the entire coast lands between Tingis and Cæsarea. The four successors of Genseric did not inherit his talents. Thrasamund abandoned Sicily to the Ostrogoth Theodoric to secure his assistance; only the important port of Lilybæum he received back as the dower of the Gothic princess whom he married (131). Sardinia was used as a place of banishment, and during the violent religious dissensions in the African church, Thrasamund sent two hundred and twenty bishops in exile to that island. The Vandals were the first among the northern barbarians who became corrupted by the luxuriance of a southern sky, and while they were reducing the industrious native Christians to thraldom, and themselves revelling in their fragrant gardens and shady villas, they were suddenly surprised, prostrated and annihilated by the sword of Belisarius; and the Vandal nation leaves nothing behind them in the world except the hateful word Vandalism, denoting their wanton delight in destruction.[39]

XVI. The Eastern Empire.

135. Extent.—At the accession of Justinian I. the Byzantine empire still preserved almost the same limits as it had one hundred and thirty-two years before (395–527), at the division of the Roman empire by Theodosius. In Europe, we have the Danube, the Save, the Drinus, the Barbana, and the Mediterranean around the great Illyrian peninsula. On the Black Sea the Greco-Romans occupied the southern coast of the Taurian Chersonese (Crimea), the interior of which was inhabited by a fugitive German tribe, the friendly Tetraxitan Goths (91), who had refused to follow the banner of Theodoric to Italy, and enjoyed the protection of the Byzantine emperors. Nor had the Romans lost territory in the east. Since the cession of *Nisibis*, in the war against king Sapor in 363,

[39] *Andalusia* (Vandalos), in Spain, is said to have its name from the Vandals.

the Mesopotamian frontiers had been fortified by Anastasius with the important castle of DARA (13), fourteen miles west of Nisibis. It was still more strengthened by Justinian, and became the bulwark of the empire during the bloody wars with the Persians (96), which secured the Roman influence over Armenia Minor, and the Lazic, Albanian, and Iberian tribes of Mount Caucasus.

136. PROVINCES AND PRINCIPAL CITIES.—The provincial division of the empire likewise remained the same, and it still consisted of the three dioceses of Thrace (belonging to the Præfecture of the Orient), and those of Dacia and Macedonia, which formed the Illyrian Præfecture. They also preserved their seventeen provinces, whose capitals were, after CONSTANTINOPLE, the most important cities in this part of the empire. We here mention only ADRIANOPLE, PHILIPPOPLE, MARCIANOPLE, in the diocese of Thrace; THESSALONICA, DYRRACHIUM, and CORINTH in Macedonia; and SARDICA, in Dacia.

137. FRONTIERS OF THE EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF JUSTINIAN, A. D. 565.—With the reign of that emperor began the terrible invasions of the Sclavonic nations from the Danube; but although the Bulgarians and the Avars advanced into the heart of the empire, and besieged Constantinople herself, they were nevertheless successfully repulsed; and at the death of the emperor in 565, the Oriental Empire still preserved its old frontiers on the north, east, and south; while on the west, the borders had been extended by the glorious conquests of Belisarius and Narses, in Europe, to the Alps and the western extremities of the Mediterranean, and in Africa, to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Several ports on the southern coast of Spain, from the *Straits of Hercules* (now Gibraltar) to the environs of Valencia, were likewise occupied by the garrisons of the empire. The northern frontier, on the Danube, had been strengthened with fifty-two new fortresses, all the ancient fortifications had been repaired, so had likewise the celebrated *long walls*, built by the Emperor Anastasius (417), for a length of eighteen miles, from the Propontis, across Thrace,

to the Black Sea, and advantageously situated for the defence of Constantinople.

138. ACQUISITIONS IN THE WEST.—The countries comprised within these limits which, during the reign of Justinian had been added to the empire, were the following:

139. In EUROPE. I. The southern part of the ancient diocese of ILLYRICUM OCCIDENTALE, along the upper course of the Save, to the Carnian Alps, and the Istrian Peninsula on the Adriatic. RAGUSA, with an excellent harbor on the coast, was built during the reign of Justinian, by the inhabitants of the ancient city of Epidaurus, which the Sclavonians had destroyed during their invasion. The Illyrian Præfecture, to which this newly acquired province was added, received now for metropolis JUSTINIANA PRIMA (Giustendil), a magnificent city, that rose by the order of Justinian, on the site of the small village of TAURESIUM, where that monarch had been born, in the hut of a humble shepherd (35).

II. ITALY, which was conquered by Belisarius and Narses, after a most tremendous war of eighteen years (535–553), during which Rome was five times taken by the Greeks, and retaken by the Goths. It was during the siege that Belisarius built the wall between the present *Porta del Popolo*, and *Porta Salaria*, which is still extant, under the name of *Muro Storto di Belisario*, and that the Greek defenders of the *Moles Hadriani* (Castle of Sant Angelo), hurled the magnificent statues on the heads of the storming Barbarians. MILAN, then the most populous and brilliant city in the west, after Rome, was likewise taken and destroyed by the Frankish auxiliaries of the Ostrogoths, in the course of the war. RAVENNA suffered likewise all the vicissitudes of the most barbarous warfare. TAGINES, *Tagina*, in Umbria, on the western slope of Mount Apennine, near Spoletium, where the great and decisive battle took place between Narses and the king Totilas, in which the Goths were defeated, with the loss of their king and bravest warriors. The spot where the thousands of

corpses were burnt after the battle, was still for centuries called *Busta Gothorum*. NAPLES had, at the beginning of the war, been taken by Belisarius, by a surprise, through a subterranean aqueduct NOCERA, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, where the desperate Goths, led on by their last king, Tejas, made an ultimate effort against Narses, who there terminated the war by their total destruction or capture.

SICILY, *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and the *Balearic* isles, had likewise fallen back to the allegiance of the emperor.

140. In AFRICA, the sovereign of Constantinople had reconquered all the possessions of the Western Empire, from the Great Syrtis to the distant shores of the Atlantic, and CARTHAGE, which so willingly had opened its gates to the victorious Belisarius, had again become the metropolis of orthodox Christians. TRICOMARUM, six leagues northwest of Carthage, where the battle was fought between Belisarius and Gelimer, the Vandal usurper, which decided the fate of the Barbarians. The site of Mount PAPPUA, at the extremity of Numidia, to which Gelimer after his defeat fled for refuge, is not known, and it seems difficult, on the indefinite description of Procopius, to fix the place with accuracy.

After the defeat of the Vandals, some of whom were sent as soldiers to the Persian frontiers, and the remainder dispersed and lost sight of in the interior of Africa, Justinian had still, during several years, some trouble with the roving mountaineers of Mount Atlas, the *Kabyles* and *Maurusians*, who in vain attempted from their strongholds on the outskirts of the desert, to profit by the change of dominion, and the religious dissensions, in order to recover the fertile country which the ancient Romans had taken from them.

CHAPTER IV.

EUROPE.

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AFTER THE INVASION OF THE AVARS AND THE LONGOBARDS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.[40]

General Remarks.——We have seen the position of the old world at the accession of Justinian I., A. D. 527. Half a century from that time take place the two last important migrations, those of the Avars and the Longobards, between the years 568 and 574, which produce so great a change in the political geography of Europe, that it will be necessary to explain their results. We shall, however, circumscribe ourselves to indicate rapidly the principal revolutions which occurred in Europe towards the close of the sixth century, as we have already given such full details on the preceding period.

§ I. NORTHERN EUROPE.

141. The British Islands have undergone great political changes since the beginning of the sixth century.

In Hibernia—Erin—(Ireland), the different small kingdoms became more and more flourishing, principally in consequence of the rapid propagation of Christianity, that had already spread throughout the greater part of the island. Yet although it contributed generally to soften the character of the

[40] Compare Map No. 2, with Map No. 3.

people, and to inspire them with ideas of religion and morality, it was not able to curb the military spirit of the Canfinnies, or chiefs at the head of their warriors panting for war and glory; and thus the intestine feuds continued in almost every part of that beautiful island; while the learned monks at Ardmacha, Benchor, and Killdara, were preparing for their more arduous and dangerous missions on the Continent among Saxons, Frisians, and Sclavonians, who all must with gratitude look back to Ireland for their first instruction in the Christian faith.

142. The kingdom of the SCOTS and PICTS, in the north of Great Britain, preserved nearly the same limits. Christianity had already penetrated into the mountain regions by the strenuous exertions of the monks of Saint Columba (101). The ancient Britons were still in possession of the western coast of the island, and defended themselves bravely in Cumberland, Wales, and Cornwall; but new states were founded on the eastern shores in consequence of later invasions from the shores of Denmark.

143. KINGDOMS OF THE ANGLES.—While the Saxons founded their states in the south (104), new conquerors, the Angles, from Schleswig on the Eider and the Baltic, arrived on the eastern coast of Britain, where they established three new kingdoms between the years 534 and 584. These, together with the earlier four Saxon states were henceforth known under the name of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. The new settlements of the Angles were the following:

NORTHANUMBRIA (Northumberland), so called from its position north of the Humber, was founded in 547 by Ida, the Firebrand, a powerful chief, who, with his twelve sons and an army of Angles, landed on the Cape of Flamborough, and occupied the whole coast from the Humber to the Tweed. It soon split into two states: DEIRA (Deornas), on the south of the Tees, and BERNICIA (Bryneich), on the north of that river; yet both became, in 560, united again under the same king. Eoforwic (YORK), was the capital of Deira and of all

Northumberland. BEBBANBURGH (Bamborough), built by Ida, south of the Tweed, was the first Anglican settlement in Bernicia.

EAST ANGLIA, on the coast, northeast of Essex, was colonized by Angles from Northumberland, and was erected into an independent kingdom by Offa in 571; its capital was NORTHWYC (Northwich), on the Yerne.

MERCIA (Myrcna), between Northumbria and Anglia, toward the mountains of Wales. The victories of the Saxons had roused the Northmen on the Baltic; one band crossed over after another, and pressing forward in the interior, Creoda (Cridda), the descendant of Odin, founded in 584 Mercia, the *mark* or border state, against the Briton refugees of Wales, and the most powerful kingdom of the Heptarchy. LINDUM (Lincoln), an ancient Roman colony, was the capital.

How these Dano-Germans gradually united and formed themselves into considerable kingdoms, and how far they respected the remains of Roman civilization which they still may have found there, we know not; nor does there exist any written history of the seven kingdoms until the time of their conversion to Christianity. The poor Britons were at last reduced to the western mountains of Cambria (103), or sought refuge among their Celtic brethren on the opposite coast of Armorica (70).

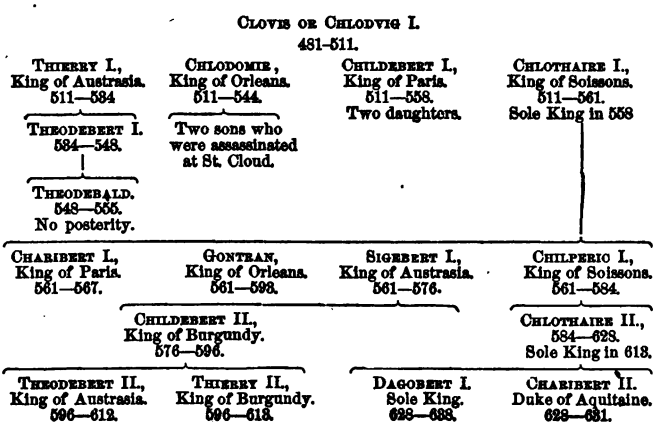
144. SCANDINAVIA.—Darkness still covers the north; the dynasties of the Ynglingar at Sigtuna in *Swea-Rike* (Sweden), and of the Skioldunger at Leire in *Dannemark* (Denmark), begin to extend their dominion over the petty chiefs, the Sea-kings and Vi-kings of the islands; while the Northmen in their piratical expeditions, already begin to desolate the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic.

§ II. CENTRAL EUROPE.

145. KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS.—The Frankish empire had received a considerable extension since the preceding

period (110). The sons of Clovis[41] conquered THURINGIA in 531, and BURGUNDY in 534 (119), and, taking advantage of the distress of the Ostrogoths during the wars with the Byzantine emperors, they insidiously obtained the cession of PROVENCE from the unhappy king Vitiges in 535. Chlothaire I., the last of the sons of Clovis, united the Frankish kingdoms in 558–561; but, according to the custom of those times, he again divided them between his four sons; and on the death of Charibert, there remained the three kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy. The limits of these states were drawn in so absurd a manner, that it is impossible to give any clear idea of them. The Merovingian kings did not attempt to round off their states with easily defended frontiers, —their only view was to obtain an equal number of royal domains, many rich cities, and the best vineyards in the south or on the Rhine. Each brother demanded a duchy in Aquitaine; Paris, already an important city, was likewise divided among the princes, and every one fortified separately his own quarter as in time of foreign invasion. We can therefore only give a general outline of the *provincial* division, which soon became per-

[41] GENEALOGY OF THE MEROVINGIAN RACE UNTIL DAGOBERT, A. D. 638.



manent by the development of the separate nationalities of Germans, French, Burgundians and Aquitanians, in the subsequent period of Charlemagne.

146. The kingdom of SOISSONS, now already called NEUSTRIA, or WESTRIA (Wester-Reich), comprised all the provinces extending along the sea-shore, from the mouth of the Loire to that of the Rhine; only Brittany, the ancient Armorica, continued still independent. A small portion of Northern Aquitaine remained with the king of Neustria. Soissons was the capital, and the heart of France.

147. The kingdom of AUSTRASIA or *Ostrasia* (Oster-Reich), comprehended eastern France and the new conquests beyond the Rhine, and, besides, the city and territory of ABRINCATUS (Avranches), on the coast of the kingdom of Soissons, and the entire north and south of Aquitaine; that is, the territories of *Turrones* (Tours), of *Pictavis* (Poitiers), and of *Limovicas* (Limoges), the entire *Arverna* (Auvergne), the cities and territories of *Rutenicus* (Rhodéz), of *Albingensis* (Alby), of *Cadurcinus* (Cahors), of *Tolosanus* (Tolouse), of *Convenas* (Comminges), of *Consoransis* (Conserans), of *Benearnia* (Béarn), of *Atura* (Aire), and of *Burdigalensis* (Bordeaux). Nay, it seems, even, that several towns of Provence, such as *Avenio* (Avignon), *Aquæ Sextiæ* (Aix), and one-half of *Massilia* (Marseille), formed part of the kingdom of Austrasia. Sigebert, king of this country, perceiving the necessity of approaching nearer to his possessions beyond the Rhine, removed his royal residence from Rheims, the ancient metropolis of that part of Gaul, to METTIS (Metz), on the Moselle, which henceforth became the capital of Austrasia. ANDELAUS (Andelot), on the frontiers of Burgundy, is important in the history of the Franks, on account of the treaty of 587, which fixed the limits between Austrasia and Burgundy, and in which we discover the first traces of the hereditary succession in the fiefs.

148. The kingdom of BURGUNDY, or, as it was now called, the kingdom of ORLÉANS and BURGUNDY, because it embraced

these two kingdoms, extended besides over the territory of *Melodunum* (Melun), *Provence*, and the western part of *Aquitania* (Saintes, Angoulême, Périgueux, and Agen). Gontran, its king, took his residence in CHALONS *sur Saône*, a position more central than that of either of the ancient capitals, Orléans or Lyons. EBREDUNUM (Embrun), at the foot of the Cottian Alps, and STABLON (Estoublons), more south, on the western slope of the maritime Alps, are remarkable places on account of the victories which the Frankish general Mummolus here gained, in 569 and 570, over the arrogant Lombards and their Saxon allies, when the former, not satisfied with their easy conquest of Italy, attempted to add Provence likewise to their territories, as having formerly belonged to the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

149. AVARIA.—The Empire of the Avars occupied for two centuries the greater part of eastern Europe, and took the place of the kingdoms of the *Lombards*, *Gepidæ*, and *Bulgarians*, whose position we have described in the beginning of the century. The Avars were a Tartaric nation, by the Russian historians called *Obri*, and by the Franks, *Huns* (108), there being, no doubt, many Huns following along with them. The Avars had for centuries inhabited the eastern slope of Mount Oural, when they were defeated by the Turkomans from the Caspian, and driven westward. They in their turn subdued the Bulgarians on the Euxine, and appeared, to the terror of the Greeks, on the Danube, in 560. Justinian averted the storm with rich presents. All Slavia, eastern Germany as far as Franconia, and Bavaria, were devastated by that cruel and restless people, which for more than two centuries proved the scourge of Europe (560–796). They occupied all Bohemia and subdued the Sorabian Slavi in the present Saxony and Lausitz. In 563 they penetrated into Thuringia, where they for the first time came in contact with the Franks. United with the Longobards, they suddenly attacked and destroyed the Gepidæ, in Pannonia (122), and when the Lombards, in 568, marched off for the conquest of Italy, they occupied per-

manently the fertile and beautiful lands of Noricum, Pannonia, and all Dacia. Their southern frontier was the Danube, the Euxine Sea, and the western Caucasus. On the east, they touched the Volga, on the northeast they reached to modern Moskow, and along the Carpathian range their western border ran down the Elbe, from Magdeburg to Bohemia, including the portion of Austria, east of the Ens, and followed then south, along the Friulian Alps, the river Save to its junction with the Danube. They were a mighty nation, who during the seventh and eighth centuries kept Europe in continual fear. Many Sclavonian tribes were subdued by the Avars; others fled before them, and forcing their way across the Danube, inundated Thrace, and settled in northern Greece and the peninsula of the Morea (196). In a subsequent period, however, when the Bulgarians, under their leader, Kuvrat, recovered from their lethargy, and defeated the Avars in the east, and the inhuman cruelty of the latter brought the Bohemians in their despair to throw off the yoke, then the Avaric power began to sink. In order to secure themselves against the Franks, they had transformed the finest provinces of southern Germany to a desert, where dense forests arose, which separated Bavaria from Avaria. The more to secure their position on the Danube, they supported the rebellious Duke Thassilon, of Bavaria, against Charlemagne; but the Frankish armies invaded their country in 791, and after several destructive campaigns, Prince Pepin subdued all western Avaria as far as the river Raab and the Danube, and forced the defeated Tartars to become Christians. Several times they rose in rebellion, but in 803 the heavy sword of Charlemagne smote them with such effect, that the Avaric nation vanishes from history, and only the eastern tribes found refuge on Mount Caucasus, where they still, to this day, form a warlike race under the name of AWARS or UARS, and their Khan is the most powerful among the *Lesgian* chieftains.

The Avars, being nomades, had no cities, but strongly fortified camps. Their capital was the RINGUS, or fortified cir-

cular camp at *Buda-Pesth* in Pannonia, where the Franks made an immense booty of the plundered treasures of so many vanquished nations. The Avars were the most talented and ingenious of the eastern tribes; they were tall, handsome, and excellent archers. They fought in complete armor; their steeds were barbed with chain mail, and the equipment of the Avar horsemen was adopted by the Byzantine Greeks, as were their long lances, with colored flags. They learned from the Greeks to conduct regular sieges, to throw bridges; but they showed such savage cruelty against their vanquished subjects, that their name, *Obri* in the Russian, got the signification of "horrible monster," as the *Bougre* (Bulgar), in French, and the *Hüne* (Hun), in German. The Avars were a brave and warlike people, but faithless, perfidious, and avaricious. From wild nomades, they became cunning tradesmen, who with their caravans, carried the oriental and Grecian wares and costly manufactures to the markets of Germany, where they made plenty of money, which they hoarded within the wooden walls of the Ringus, on the Danube, and it was then a common saying among the Franks, that before the conquest of Avaria the Franks had been a poor people, but that afterwards, the precious metals found there had made them more wealthy than any other nation in Europe.

150. Germany was thus divided between the *Franks* and the *Avars*. Among the independent Saxons, the Scandinavians, the Finns, and Northern Sclavonians, no remarkable changes took place during that period.

§ III. Southern Europe.

151. Spanish Peninsula.—The only change which here attracts our attention is the extinction of the *Suevian* kingdom in 585, and the progressive amalgamation of the different races which already began to speak the Spanish language, a mixture of Latin and Gothic. The only troubles there were caused by the ambition of the princes to succeed to the throne,

and the arrogant bearing of the prelates, who, during the lethargic sloth of the Visigothic kings and nobility had made the ecclesiastic influence paramount in the realm.

152. KINGDOM OF THE LOMBARDS.—The Ostrogothic empire was destroyed by Belisarius and Narses, in the middle of the 6th century. In 568, Alboin crossed the Alps, with an immense army of Longobards, Saxons, and other German auxiliaries. He occupied Northern Italy, which henceforth took the name of Lombardy, and his successors extended their sway through the interior as far as Beneventum in the south. Yet the Lombards were unable to conquer the coast, where the well-fortified cities were supported by the fleets from Constantinople, and thus their kingdom remained without consolidation, and exposed to attacks on every side except the north. The Lombard kingdom was divided into six larger provinces, containing thirty-six *ducatus* (duchies), which were governed by dukes, who, in the course of time succeeded in becoming almost entirely independent.

I. AUSTRIA (now the Venetian territory) with the larger Duchies of TRIDENTUM (Trident), FORUM JULII (Friuli), and VENETIA or AUSTRIA REGNI, which again comprised a number of smaller duchies, *Tarvisium* (Treviso), *Vincentia* (Vicenza), *Patavium* (Padua), &c.

II. NEUSTRIA (now Piedmont and Milan), was separated from Austria by the *Mincius* (Mincio), and the *Lacus Benacus* (Lago di Garda), with the duchies of *Eboreja* (Ivrea), *Taurinum* (Turin), and *Neustria Regni*, in which was the capital of the kingdom, PAPIA, or TICINUM (now Pavia), on the *Ticinus*. Smaller duchies were those of *Bergomum* (Bergamo), *Brixia* (Brescia), *Mediolanum* (Milan), and *Insula St. Julii*, on the small lake of Orta.

III. ÆMILIA, south of the *Padus* (Po), comprised the small duchies *Placentia* (Piacenza), Parma, *Regium* (Reggio), and *Mutina* (Modena).

IV. TUSCIA (Toscana), divided into, 1, TUSCIA REGNI,

with the duchies *Luca* (Lucca), *Florentia* (Florence), and *Clusium* (Chiuso); and 2, TUSCIA LANGOBARDORUM with the duchy of Castrum. Separated from these territories, were for a length of time the southern conquests of the kingdom.

V. The duchy of SPOLETUM (Spoleto), with the city of Reate.

VI. The duchy of BENEVENTUM, with the *gastaldates*, or jurisdictions of *Capua*, *Bovianum*, *Teate*, and smaller territories. PAVIA had made a most obstinate resistance during a siege of three years. Alboin made it the capital of the kingdom. MILAN had arisen from its ashes, and was again one of the most populous and important cities. VERONA, the strong fortress on the Adige, where Alboïn was assassinated by his revengeful wife Rosamund. MONZA, near Milan, with the celebrated cathedral and monastery of Queen Teudelinda, where the kings were inaugurated with the iron crown of Lombardy. King Rotharis gave in 644, the Lombard code. All Lombards were nobles, *Arimanni*, or warriors; under the dukes stood the judges, or *Gastaldi;* free Lombards were empanelled as jurymen, to judge their equals; capital punishment was inflicted only for treachery, conspiracy, and cowardice. Judicial duels, and ordeals by fire and water were permitted. Woman enjoyed the highest honor, protection,[42] nay, even chivalrous adoration. The king was only the leader of the feu-

[42] See the laws of king Rotharis: elopement with a Lombard bride without the consent of the bridegroom, was punished with 1800 *solidi*, or gold pieces (*Roth. Legg.* 191), while the murder of a Lombard *ariman* or noble, could be atoned with only 900 solidi; nay, the taking a single kiss of a Lombard virgin without her permission, was punished with 900 solidi as compensation to the injured fair one, while a worse harm done to her *Roman* maid-servant, was atoned with only *three* solidi, and the breaking into her father's house by open robbery, with 80 solidi (*Roth. Legg.*, 14, 16, 26, 31, 32). The Lombards, like the Danes, compensated every injury on man or beast, whether premeditated or accidental, with ready money. (See the highly interesting details in Professor Leo's *Geschichte der Italienischen Staaten.* Hamburg, 1829, vol. i., p. 114 et seq.

dal army; the assembly of dukes decided all political questions. The native Romans were treated with unheard of cruelty; yet the Lombards did not take themselves the landed property; they exacted one-third part of the revenue. The tributes and taxes of the cities were heavy, but the citizens personally free. The Lombards, as Arian heretics, clad in skins, had terrified the Romans; yet the natural chivalrous character of the old Northmen soon took a polish and elegance superior to that of the Goths and Franks. The Lombards were excellent horsemen; they established studs of an improved race of war-steeds, on the meadows of the Venetian coast; they introduced the buffalo from India, and carried to perfection the art of falconry. Yet they never succeeded in conquering Rome, and the hostility with the Popes and the maritime cities, contributed to rouse the patriotism of the Italians, and to promote the development of the Italian republics of later times.

153. The Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire.—The conquest of Italy by the Lombards, deprived the Eastern Empire of some of the acquisitions which it had made in Italy during the reign of Justinian I.; yet it still possessed the following provinces, toward the close of the 6th century.

1. The Exarchate, which had its name from its governor, the *Exarch* (Ἔξαρχος), whom the Greek emperor sent over to administer the imperial possessions of Italy. He resided in Ravenna (42), and had a Greek fleet and troops at his disposal for the defence of the province. The exarchate consisted of Padua, Adria, Ferrara, Commacchio, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena, and the maritime province called Pentapolis, because it consisted of the five cities of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona. Venice, situated at four miles distance from the mainland in her lagoons, began already to rise in power and wealth, and though governed almost independently by her military tribunes, was still considered as a dependence of the Greek Empire.

2. The province of the Cottian Alps (51), embraced at

this period the whole range of the Maritime Alps and of the Apennines, on the fertile coast of LIGURIA, with the city of JANUA (Genoa), which had already become a thriving commercial port.

3. The DUCHY OF ROME, extending from Perugia on the north, to Gaeta on the south, was governed by a military duke, though both the Bishop (Pope) of the Roman See, and the senate of ancient noble families exercised a great influence, and often opposed the despotic measures of the distant and weak Byzantine Government.

4. THE DUCHY OF NAPLES was divided into two parts, by intervening Lombard territories. On the north, the beautiful city of NEAPOLIS (Naples), with SORRENTO, PUTEOLI (Pozzuoli), and the thriving commercial town of AMALFI, on the Salernitan gulf, and on the south, CALABRIA, with the strongly fortified and important city of TARENTUM (Taranto). SICILY, with its capital, SYRACUSE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, and the BALEARIC islands, belonged likewise to the Eastern Empire.

CHAPTER V.

EUROPE.

WESTERN AND CENTRAL ASIA AND NORTHERN AFRICA; THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY DURING THE REIGNS OF CHARLEMAGNE (A D. 768–814), AND OF HAROUN AR RASCHID, THE ABBASIDE CALIPH OF BAGDAD (A. D. 786–809).

I. EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

§ I. Extent of the Dominions of the Franks on the Death of Pepin-le-Bref, a. d. 768.

154. General Remarks.—Great changes have taken place in the Frankish empire since the union of the three kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, first under Chlotaire II. in 613, and then a second time under king Dagobert in 628. The successors of the latter, the idle or *fainéans* kings of the Merovingian race, had given place, in 752, to Pepin-le-Bref, the founder of the second dynasty—the Carlovingians. The main causes of the downfall of the royal authority in France were the impolitic and detrimental divisions of the empire among the royal princes, the feuds and disorders which they occasioned, and the growing influence of the able and active *mayors of the palace* (118). By the new division of the states, on the death of Dagobert in 638, among his sons, every one of the petty kingdoms obtained its own Mayor Domus, which increased the confusion; nay, the relations between these military chiefs became the more hostile, the more the different nationalities of *German Franks* or Austrasians (Eastlanders), *Roman*

Franks or Neustrians (Westlanders), and *Gallo-Romans*, or Aquitanians, developed themselves in language, character, and manners. In 687 it came to a civil war between the Neustrians and Austrasians and their warlike mayors. Pepin of Heristal and his Austrasians, gained the bloody battle at Testri against the Neustrians, in consequence of which he was chosen to rule over all the kingdoms as Duke and Prince of the Franks, and established the permanent seat of the executive power at Aix la Chapelle in Austrasia. The son of Pepin, Charles Martel (the Hammer), consolidated still more the new hereditary power of the Mayor Domus by his victories over the Saxons, Frisians, and Arabs from Spain, at Tours in 732; and so great was the influence of Pepin-le-Bref, the son of Charles Martel, that, with the sanction of clergy and nobility, and the assistance of the Pope of Rome, he could put the last miserable Merovingian king into a convent, and mount the throne of Austrasia and Neustria in 752. Aquitaine, Saxony, and Bavaria, which had recovered their independence during the troubles, are invaded by Pepin and partly reduced to obedience, when he divides his states between his two sons, Carloman and Charles, before his death in 768.

155. Limits.—The Frankish state was bounded on the north and northwest by the Channel and the Atlantic; on the south by the Loire, the mountain chain of the Cevennes and the Gulf of Lions on the Mediterranean.[43] On the side of Italy the Franks had extended their empire to the highest range of the Alps, in which two important passes were situated, which are often mentioned in the chronicles of those times: "*The Franks' Narrows*"—*Clusæ Francorum*—now the passage of the little Saint Bernard, which opens upon the valley of Aosta —*Vallis Augustana*—and the other defile, more south, called the Segusian Valley—*Vallis Segusiana* or *Vallis Sensana*—is the defile of Susa on Mount Cenis, which King Desiderius

[43] During the middle ages it was styled the sea, or gulf of the Lion, because, from the frequency of tempests, it was formidable to mariners. To write gulf of *Lyons* is incorrect.

had fortified in vain, in 774, against Charlemagne, who boldly crossing over by the steeper mountain paths, took the Lombard camp in the flank and defeated them totally in the plain of Pavia. Beyond the Rhine the Frankish territory extended eastward to the river Saale, where it bordered on the Saxons, Sorabians, and Bohemians, and ran south to the Danube and along the *Anisus* (Ens) to the Alps, thus comprising Bavaria, which, however, was more tributary than subdued. On the northeast, the countries beyond the Rhine, and north of the Thuringian mountains, Saxony, and the coast-lands of the Frisians, though often invaded by the Franks, were still independent.

156. Division made by Pepin between his Sons.—Carloman, the elder, got Neustria, Burgundy, with Septimania, Provence, Alsace, and Alemannia, that is, western and southern France. Charles, the younger son, received Austrasia with Thuringia, Souabia, Bavaria, and those portions of western Saxony and Frisia which were considered as belonging to the empire. Aquitania, then almost independent,[44] was divided in equal parts between both brothers. From this somewhat unsatisfactory account of Eginhard, we discover, however, the insecurity of the frontiers, and the loose connection of the states among themselves.[45] What a work was there on hand for such a genius as Charlemagne!

I. Kingdom of Neustria.

157. I. Neustria Proper, between the Atlantic, the Channel, the Mosa, and the Loire, extended southeast to Burgundy; and being the earliest conquest of the Frankish nation, it was thickly settled by them and the centre of their power. Yet the western peninsula, Britannia (Bretagne)—Brittany—called likewise Armorica (70), and *Cornu Galliæ*, answering to the similar name *Cornouailles* (Cornwall), of the opposite

[44] Aquitania was in a state of insurrection, and Charlemagne began his reign with its complete reduction.

[45] In his life of Charlemagne.

coast in the British island, was inhabited by the pure old Celtic race, as different from the Roman inhabitants of Gaul, as from their conquerors the Franks. The Britons had, until the death of Pepin-the-Short, preserved their manners, language, particular laws, and native princes; and the French chroniclers of the times distinctly record that it was Charlemagne who first carried the Frankish arms into that country. Some of the frontier towns, however, such as NAMNETES (Nantes), on the Loire, REDONES (Rennes), and ALETUM (Saint Malo), had already been occupied by the Merovingian kings, and later by Pepin.

II. BURGUNDIA (Bourgogne, Burgundy), on the southeast of Neustria, between the Loire, the Cevennes, and the Alps, and bordering south on Provence, was at this period the most flourishing portion of the empire, both on account of the industry and activity of the inhabitants, and because the devastating incursions of the Arabs from Spain had hardly touched its frontiers.

III. SEPTIMANIA, southwest of Burgundy, extended along the coast of the Balearic sea, or Gallic gulf—*Sinus Gallicus*—as the gulf of Lions was then called. This beautiful province had never been completely reduced by the Merovingians, and was soon re-conquered by the Mohammedans. It remained in their power until the Gothic count, Ansemandus, surrendered several cities—Nîmes, Maguelonne, and Béziers—to Pepin, who already had crossed the frontiers. NARBONNE, rising in rebellion, slaughtered the Mussulman garrison and opened her gates to the Frankish prince. Thus encouraged, the Franks boldly entered the Pyrenees, and it is related that the Saracen *Wali* of Girona and Barcelona did homage to Pepin, although a mere show of obeisance could not have been a real submission.

158. IV. PROVINCIA (Provence), south of Burgundy, on both banks of the *Druentia* (Durance), had been overrun by the Arabs, but Charles Martel defeated them there in A. D. 739, and the province was henceforth governed by Frankish officers.

159. V. ALESATIA or *Alesacis* (Alsace), northeast of Burgundy, between Mount Vogesus and the Rhine, though inclosed within Austrasia, belonged to Carloman. It was the first conquest of Clovis from the Alemanni, and was afterwards incorporated into the province of *Eastern Francc* (Franconia), beyond the Rhine.

160. VI. ALEMANNIA or *Alamania*, southeast of Alsace, on the right bank of the Rhine, embraced the southern part of Souabia and Switzerland, and extended to the foot of the Alps. A small portion of northern Souabia seems to have belonged to Austrasia; the Franks were unable scientifically to adjust political divisions of territory. After the defeat of their duke, Leutfried, in 748, the Alemanni were deprived of their native sovereigns, and governed by Frankish counts under the supervision of royal commissaries (*missi dominici*).

161. VII. BOJOARIA (Bavaria), on the east of Alemannia, from which it was separated by the river Lichus (Lech), extended between the Danube and the Alps, eastward to the *Anisus* (Ens), where it bordered on the empire of the Avars. The Bavarians, though several times defeated by Pepin, who had penetrated into their country so far as the *Ænus* (Inn), preserved still their native dukes and their national habits, but they did homage to the Frankish kings, followed their banner, and paid a yearly tribute. Bavaria did not yet form an integral part of the empire, and is not mentioned in the division made by Pepin between his sons.

II. KINGDOM OF AUSTRASIA.

162. Pepin gave Austrasia to his second son, Charles. It was by far smaller than Neustria, but it was nevertheless the principal portion of the empire, and in assigning it to his youngest and most talented son, Pepin demonstrated the predilection he felt for him. Austrasia was the cradle of the Frankish nation; it was the old homestead of those brave

degene (thanes, chiefs), and *leudes* (warriors), who formed the feudal armies of the Franks; there, too, was the stronghold of the new dynasty in the hereditary castles of *Landen* and *Heristal*, on the Mosa, surrounded by the estates of the faithful retainers of the family of Pepin—and finally, it was on this exposed frontier that all the assaults of the Germanic, Sclavonian, and Tartaric nations were to be opposed, sword in hand, if the western civilization should not be entirely overwhelmed by new inundations of the barbarous hordes from the east. Great was therefore the responsibility that rested on young king Charles, but he had the head, heart, and hand, requisite for the mighty task which his father had imposed upon him.

These remarks are important in order to understand the political and social change of manners, ideas, and language which already separated the two leading parts of the Frankish nation—the Neustrians and Austrasians—at the time of Charlemagne. All earlier French writers speak of that great ruler as if he were a Frenchman, a Louis XIV., an absolute monarch of France, while the more profound modern historians, Guizot and Thierry, distinctly prove that *Karl the Great* and his *Austrasians* were genuine Germans, speaking the old German mother-tongue, and still preserving the habits and manners of the Tudesque race. The Neustrians, west of the Mosa, on the contrary, had already so far adopted the language and customs of the native Romans, that they appear as Frenchmen one century later, at the battle of Fontenay and the treaty of Verdun in 843, where, at the division of the Empire, the act of allegiance of the armies is rendered both in the French and the German language.[46]

163. VIII. AUSTRASIA PROPRIA—*Auster*—extended on

[46] See the interesting details on Charlemagne, the ancient Franks, and the division of the Carlovingian empire, in Augustin Thierry's Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, Lettre I.–XII., and in Guizot's Histoire de la Civilization en France, Leçons XX—XXV.

both banks of the Rhine from the Mosa, which separated it from Neustria on the west, to the *Visurgis* or *Wissera* (Weser), that formed the eastern frontier line toward Thuringia, and the Sclavonian nations on the Elbe. The portion of this province, lying between the Moselle on the west, the Rhine and the Mayn on the north, and the Risga (Rechnitz), a tributary of the Mayn, on the east, formed what at that time began to be called FRANCIA, France, and was under the Carlovingians considered as the cradle of the monarchy. It was in itself subdivided into *West Reich*, or the Western Kingdom, on the left bank of the Rhine, comprising Alsace, and *Ost Reich*, or the Eastern Kingdom, on the right bank of that river, the present Franconia in Bavaria. All the ancient Roman cities on the Rhine (71, 109) had been rebuilt, and were now flourishing; the hills on the banks of the river were covered with vineyards, and the numerous country-seats of the kings and their feudal retainers, presented the boisterous life and gaudy pomp of those barbarous times.

164. IX. THURINGIA or *Thoringia* (Thüringen), between the Weser, which separated it from Austrasia on the west, and the Saale, which on the east formed the utmost frontier of the empire, against the Sorabians, and other Sclavonian tribes. After the conquest of this beautiful country by the sons of Clovis in 532 (120), it was considered as an integral part of their dominions, but during the downfall of the royal authority of the Merovingians, and the feudal wars of the *Mayores Domus* in the west, the Thuringians succeeded in rendering themselves independent. They placed their native dukes at the head of the government, and bravely defeated the Franks in the great battle on the river *Unstrut*. Pepin-the-Short was therefore obliged to turn his arms against them, and this he did so effectually, that all Thuringia had been completely subdued and christianized at the time when Charlemagne mounted the Austrasian throne.

165. X. SAXONIA, Saxony, on the north of Austrasia and Thuringia. The indomitable Saxons, with their heavy short

swords—*saxen*—still preserved their independence, in spite of the five fatiguing campaigns of Pepin, until at last the Franks advanced on the Weser, and imposed a yearly tribute of three hundred horses on the Saxons, which they took no care to pay. Nor did they keep their engagement to permit the Irish and British missionaries to prosecute their pious work of conversion among them; and many were the zealous and devoted monks, who, in the Saxon forests, gained the crown of martyrdom.

166. XI. Frisia (Holland and Friesland), on the north-west of Saxony, was separated from Neustria by the lower Rhine, and extended eastward to the Weser. The Frisians made the most desperate efforts to preserve their independence in their low, swampy coast-lands, and Pepin of Heristal did not succeed in subduing them entirely, during eight fatiguing campaigns, for they soon threw off the Frankish yoke again, and even the great power of Pepin-the-Short did not restrain them from slaughtering the pious Saint Boniface (Winfried), the archbishop of Mayence, who, in 755, had dared with cross and Christian banner to enter their wilderness, in order to spread the light of Christianity among them.

§ II. The Western Empire at the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814.

167. On the premature death of Karloman in 771, the Neustrian Franks placed Karl on the buckler, as their *König* and *Herzog* (79), instead of the helpless children of Karloman. Karl accepted and hailed this propitious union, as the beginning and corner-stone of the magnificent building he was going to erect. Charlemagne is the greatest reformer of the Middle Ages. Society was then in a ferment; barbarism and civilization were in the most violent contest with each other, and the latter could only gain the victory by violent means. Providence sends forth mighty individuals, who are destined to lead an entire age with giant steps forward in its develop-

ment, and furnishes them with vigor of intellect and strength of will to accomplish their arduous task. Such is Charlemagne; he does not follow the beaten track, and while he fixes his eye steadfastly on the distant glittering summit of the mountain, many a flower is crushed beneath his foot. He is a terrible warrior, who for forty-five years leads his immense armies from one frontier of his empire to the other, in constant warfare. The Aquitanians in southwestern France, the Lombards in Italy, the Saxons on the Weser and Elbe, the Danes on the Eider, the Sclavonians on the eastern frontiers, the Avars on the Danube and the Raab, and the Saracens beyond the Pyrenees, are either repelled or prostrated and subdued by dint of his sword. He succeeds in giving Europe an entirely different, a better regulated and organized form. At Rome he takes the imperial crown in A. D. 800, and thus revives a modern Romano-Germanic empire, that stood the storms of a thousand years, until it at last perished on the battle-field of Austerlitz in 1805. In all his campaigns Charlemagne showed himself an able general; his tactical movements were as admirable as the rapidity with which he knew how to assemble and lead on his unwieldy masses of feudal warriors. His *heer-ban* or feudal militia consisted of troops from various nations, differently armed and equipped, but kept together by the most severe discipline, which could only be enforced by a mind like that of Charles. His *leudes* furnished their own arms, horses and provisions for three months; to facilitate their march through the empire, military roads were opened under the supervision of the active emperor himself. His fleets protected the mouths of the rivers. He was obeyed and feared from the Eider to the Liris, from the Ebro in Spain, to the Theiss in Avaria. We know little in relation to the organization of the Frankish armies. Cavalry is never mentioned, though we can hardly doubt that the greater part of his feudal vassals served on horseback. The age of chivalry had not yet arrived, and what the moderns write about the twelve peers or paladins of Charlemagne, of his tournaments and knightly pomp and pageantry,

belongs to fiction and romance. Yet Charles did not rely only on his *heer-ban*, or his liegemen bound to military service; he had another body of select troops, called *scara*, schaar, bands, or paid household troops, who served throughout the campaigns, and among them were distributed the royal fiefs of Italy. They may therefore be considered as the first nobles who introduced the Frankish feudality into the lands south of the Alps. Having thus secured peace and obedience throughout the western world, he dedicated the last ten years (804–814) of his long reign (768–814) to the internal organization and development of his empire, and here we behold him in his real glory. It would be impossible to give an account of the numerous cities, fortresses, churches, schools, bridges, high roads, and even canals, and other public buildings and monuments, which he caused to be erected in every part of his dominions; he fully recognized the different nationalities, Franks, Germans, Lombards, Tartars, Sclavonians, Greeks, and Arabs, who lived peaceably under his protection. In his diets on the Rhine, the clergy, high nobility, and the mass of the freemen (leudes), assembled in a meadow on the banks of the river, where they were marshalled according to their rank around the throne of the great Emperor. Foreign ambassadors from every part of the world were there received, their presents graciously accepted, and hospitality offered on a scale which had not been witnessed since the downfall of the ancient Roman empire. The comprehensive mind of Charles embraced the most distant portion of his empire; nay, even the minute detail of income and expense on the farms of his imperial domains. His *capitularia* or laws were discussed in the diets, and imperial officers were hurried off in all directions to superintend their execution. The administration of the empire was simple in the extreme, and based on earlier Frankish institutions. Charles feared and hated the proud Dukes of Aquitania, Bavaria, and Lombardy; he dissolved all the duchies, abolished their titles, and divided the whole empire into COUNTIES—*pagi* or *grafengauen*—at the command of which stood a count or *graf*,

uniting the functions of judge and military commander. The graf enjoyed his fief only for his lifetime;[47] his sons had no hereditary rights; their election depended on the choice of the monarch. Yet in order to keep the most vigilant control over the counts and their jurisdiction in the counties, Charles employed his important and faithful envoys, or *missi dominici*, who were chosen from among the most experienced and virtuous prelates and laymen; they were in continual movement from one province to another, and woe to the negligent official; for Charles himself, like the lightning from the clouds, would immedately appear and his look was then withering. The capitulars of Charlemagne (still extant) are 300, and the whole collection of those of his successors more than 3000—all curiously illustrating the simple and rude manners of the ninth century.

168. Extent of the Frontiers.—Such was the state of the Carlovingian empire. The fifty years which separate the death of Charlemagne from that of Pepin-le-Bref, had considerably extended the dominion of the Franks. The new Roman empire of Charlemagne had almost as vast an extent as the ancient, with the exception, however, of Spain, Africa, and the island of Britain; but it embraced many lands in central Germany, which furnished him with stouter warriors than the more civilized Roman provinces. If within the bounds of the empire we reckon the tributary nations who were not directly subjected to his Frankish government, the empire had on the west, the Atlantic; on the south, the lower Ebro in Spain and the Mediterranean. On the coast of Italy it extended to the environs of Gaeta, an important city belonging to the Byzantine empire; and then to the Liris (now Garigliano), which separated it from the Duchy of Beneventum. The powerful chief of the latter ruled in the greater part of lower Italy, and recognized the supremacy of Charles, without being his subject. The possessions of Charles embraced besides, all the coast of the Adriatic,

[47] The Count was called Pfalz Graf, or Count Palatine, when he resided in any of the many royal mansions or castles called Pfalz.

from the mouth of the river *Aternus* (Pescara), in eastern Italy, around the gulf of Venice, as far as *Rhausium* (now Ragusa), or even beyond that; which, however, together with *Jadera* (now Zara on the island), *Tragarium* (now Trau), *Aspalathos* (Spalatro), and some other smaller ports, belonged to the Byzantine Greeks (139). On the east, the frontiers of the empire ran along the Dalmatian mountains to the river Bosna, a tributary of the Save, and followed that river to its junction with the Danube and the Theiss; along this latter river the border ascended the Carpathian ridge, crossed westward to Bohemia, and along the course of the Oder—or as Eginhard says, in his life of Charlemagne, along the Vistula it touched the Baltic, the Eider, and the German Ocean. This immense extent of compact territory had 300 leagues or 900 miles in length from north to south, and 420 leagues in breadth from west to east.

169. We have given the utmost extent of the Carlovingian empire as far as the sword of Charlemagne did reach; and in the map this border is indicated by the *light green* line, leaving, however, the national color to the tributary nations who did not directly come within the Frankish administration. The subject provinces of the empire, in which the imperial administration had been thoroughly established, we have colored with a deeper green, to distinguish it from that of the merely tributary countries of the Sclavonic and Tartaric tribes on the eastern frontiers.

A.—Provinces of the Empire.

170. Different Divisions. — The great fundamental change undertaken by Charlemagne, was the dissolution of the duchies and the subdivision of the ancient provinces into the above-mentioned pagi—*counties*—gheves or *gauen*, which again were subdivided into *centena* (hundreds), *marken* (communes), and manses (manors), all with their corresponding officials and their military service—*heerban*. This division of the pagi,

which extended throughout Germany and France, is of the highest importance, because it was the *Gaugrafen* or judicial counts, who, during the subsequent period of the dissolution of the Empire, by obtaining the hereditary rights of their fiefs, and joining these to their *allodia* or proper estates, constituted that feudal nobility which, in the tenth century, broke up the institution of the pagi—*gauverfassung*—and formed their baronial territories on its ruins.[48] Charlemagne never intrusted an ordinary official with more than one county; an exception was made however with regard to the border Counts, who were called *Duces limitis*, and sometimes possessed extended powers. In cases of sudden insurrection, Dukes were nominated to quell the rebellion. The Bishops began likewise to obtain worldly influence by being placed as civil officials side by side with the military Counts, or as *Missi Dominici* above them; yet they did not yet appear armed in the field until the downfall of the Empire.[49] It was by this minute organization of his gigantic empire, that Charlemagne was enabled to investigate the real wants of his subjects, or the neglect or incapacity of his counts. Temporary and changeable divisions were those of the legations—*legationes*—and the imperial messages—*missatica*. The Church was likewise divided into archbishoprics (provinces), bishoprics (dioceses), archdeaconries, &c., &c.; these only are known with accuracy; the pagi we know only in general from the capitularia.

171. Austrasia still retained its ancient frontiers, which were rendered secure by border counties on the Elbe and Danube. It had become a flourishing country under Charlemagne, with rich and thriving cities. Westward of

[48] Some regions in Germany still retain the names of the ancient *Gauen*; for instance, Breisgau on the Rhine, Aargau in Switzerland, and others. See the beautiful maps No. 12, 13, 15, 16 in the great collection of Historical Maps by Charles Spruner. Gotha, 1839–52.

[49] See the 4th Capitular of Charlemagne, A. D. 806, chap. 4th: Episcopi cum comitibus stent, et Comites cum episcopis, ut uterque plenitèr suum ministerium peragere possit.

the Rhine was situated AQUISGRANUM—*Aquæ Grani*—(Achen or Aix-la-Chapelle), built during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian by a Roman governor called Granus, who gave his name to the hot springs and the city. Charlemagne making it his favorite residence, erected there the Cathedral of Saint Mary, in which he was buried. His palace joined the church by a wooden gallery; many public buildings with marbles and sculptures from Italy, adorned the city. METTIS (Metz), southeast of Aix, on the Moselle, was the former capital of Austrasia, which now saw its splendor darkened by the new favorite. DUILIA (Düren), on the Rhine, was often the general place of rendezvous for the feudal armies of the Franks during the Saxon wars. LANDEN, the ancestral castle of the Carlovingians, west of the Mosa. HERISTAL (Herstal), on that river, the estate and residence of the elder Pepin, who there had built a strong fortress, where his successors often resided. TRÈVES (TREVIRI), rebuilt and flourishing. MAGONTIA (Mayence), opposite to the junction of the Mayn with the Rhine, across which Charlemagne threw a wooden bridge on stone pillars. Saint Boniface, the Archbishop of Mayence, left his see to find martyrdom among the savage Frisians (166). INGELHEIM, on the Rhine, surrounded by a splendid scenery of mount and dale, was likewise a favorite residence of Charlemagne, where he built a noble palace and called together the yearly diets of his states; there, too, in 788, Thassilon, the duke of Bavaria, was condemned as a faithless vassal to lose his duchy, and expiate his treachery in the gloomy exile of the convent. THEODONIS VILLA (Thionville), on the Moselle, where Charlemagne, in 806, divided his states between his sons. WORMATIA (Worms), another favorite place of the Emperor, where he had a fine palace, and held frequently his Mayfield assemblies.

172. Interesting cities, on the east of the Rhine, were FRANCONOFURT (Frankfort), on the Mayn, WURTZBURG, on the same river, where Charlemagne began the canal, which was intended to unite the Rhine with the Danube, by di-

recting the course of the *Regnitz* into the *Altmuhl*, which discharges itself into the Danube. Yet the difficulties of cutting through the intervening morasses, and the renewal of the Saxon war, forced the enterprising monarch to abandon this useful work.

173. FRISIA, whose inhabitants, stubborn as they were, yielded like the Saxons to the civilizing sword of the Emperor, and made as rapid progress as they. The demolition of the new built Christian church at Derventer on the Yssel, in 772, was the signal for the bloody war of Charlemagne against the Saxons.

SAXONIA (Saxony) had been christianized and subdued, after a terribly protracted struggle of thirty-three years (771–804). It had lost great part of its population, been devastated and plundered; but it rose by the energy of its people, and the beneficial influence of Christianity and civilization, to become the strongest and best organized state of Germany. The Saxons, at the time of the war with Charlemagne, were divided into three great tribes, the WESTPHALI (*Westphalians*), on the west, between the *Amisia* (Ems), and the *Visurgis* (Weser); OSTPHALI (or *Ostphalians*), between the Weser and the Elbe, and the ANGARII (or *Angarians*), in the southwest. North of the Elbe, toward the frontiers of Denmark, on the *Eidora* (Eyder), lived the NORLENDI (or *Nordalbingians*), in Wooden Saxony, *Holzatia* (Holstein). Celebrated places were—

174. BOCHOLT (Buchholz), on the junction of the Luppe and the Rhine, where the Saxons suffered a defeat in 779. SIGIBURG, a strong fortress which Charlemagne held garrisoned. BADENFELD, where the brave Wittikind was defeated by the Franks. ERESBURG (Stadtbergen), north of Badenfeld, the first fortress Charlemagne took and garrisoned, to keep the Saxons in subjection. There stood on a precipitous height, the celebrated *Irminseüle*, or Irmin's pillar, an object regarded with the most sacred veneration by the Saxons, but of which we do not precisely know whether it was an image of a god, or perhaps a monument of Arminius (Herman), the conqueror of the Romans, thus revered with divine honors.

PADERBORN, north of Eresburg, in the heart of Saxony, became its most important city, where Charlemagne often resided. He held there his diet, in 777; received the homage of the Saxons, and a visit from Pope Leo III. Near this city, at the head source of the *Luppis* (Lippe), called Lippespring, the Saxons suffered a tremendous defeat in 776, and there Charles opened his Mayfield assembly, in 782, and in 804. MOUNT SUNTEL (Sauenthal), more east, where the generals of Charles were routed by the Saxons in 782. At OHRHEIM, on the north, the Saxons were baptized in the river Weser, by thousands, after their submission. BREMON (Bremen), on the same river, and HAMABURG (Hamburg), on the Elbe, were originally fortresses built by Charles for the protection of the coasts, which soon became flourishing commercial cities.

175. ALSATIA (Alsace), southeast of Austrasia. ARGENTINA CIVITAS, (*Argentoratum*), Strateburgum, Strasburg, on the Rhine, at the union of the roads from France to Germany, was the most important town of the province.

176. ALEMANNIA (now Baden, Würtemberg and Switzerland), southeast of Alsace. CONSTANTIA (Constance), on the *Venetus Lacus*, or *Bodoma Sea*, likewise called Lake of Constance. SANTI GALLI MONASTERIUM, a magnificent convent, built by St. Gallus. Curia (Chur), on the upper Rhine, in the high Alps.

177. BOIOARIA (Bavaria), east of Alemannia. Its duke, Thassilon, had, in spite of the homage paid to Pepin and Charles, sought the alliance of the Avars, and fomented an insurrection among the Lombards of Italy. He was therefore condemned at the diet of Ingelheim, in 788, had his hair cut off, and was exiled to the monastery of Fulda. Bavaria was then reduced to a province, and governed by Frankish counts. RATISBONA (Regensburg), the capital on the Danube, where Charlemagne called together the diet in 792 for the organization of the province. SALISBURGUM (Salzburg), where Charles gave a magnificent reception to the Greek ambassadors, sent by the Emperor Nicephorus, to settle the frontiers between the two empires.

178. CARENTANUM, Carinthia (Kärnthen), one of the newly conquered territories, where Charles settled the surviving tribes of the vanquished Avars, in 803. VILLACH, the oldest town of that territory.

179. AVARIA (or Hunnia), on the northeast of Carinthia, the vast country between the Ens, skirting the Danube, through the present Austria and Hungaria, to the Theiss, which at that time was the seat of the still powerful nation of the Avares (by Eginhard called Huns). Charlemagne penetrated with his army into Avaria, in 791, as far as the Ens, and defeated the barbarians in several battles. His son Pepin continued the war, and driving them in 796 across the Theiss, destroyed the camp and capital of their *Chagan*, or king—the RINGUS, or fortified circle near Buda, on the Danube, where the Franks made an immense booty. Part of the vanquished Avars were forced to adopt Christianity, and settled in Carinthia; the mass of the nation, however, fled back toward the Euxine, where they suffered still worse from their enemies, the Bulgarians, and disappeared altogether. Charles then brought German settlers into the conquered territory, and formed the *Marca Orientalis—Ostrichi*—(Austrian frontier county), a name it preserves to the present day.

180. NEUSTRIA, shut in by the ocean, the Mosa, and the Loire, could only extend herself toward Brittany, which had made a violent effort during the reign of Charlemagne, to recover its independence. The Bretons were again put down by the sword in 786; many castles were taken by the Franks, but the country still remained so unsettled, that Charlemagne saw himself obliged to erect a *Marca Andegavensis*, whose margrave scoured the country at the head of his horse, and held Frankish garrisons in Namnete, Redanes, and Andegavi.

181. INTERESTING CITIES.—PARIS, on the Sequana, had lost the distinction as capital, which it enjoyed under the reign of the Merovingians, but figured still as the metropolis of Neustria. The city had grown like the monarchy. She was no longer inclosed, like the ancient Lutetia, within the narrow

boundary of the island of *Nôtre Dame* (Our Lady), in the river Seine; she extended already along the right bank, and was fortified with walls, towers, and moats. *Pons Major* led from the island to the city, on the right bank; *Pons Minor* to the extensive suburbs on the left. Here were the palaces of Julian the Apostate and Clovis, the ancient cathedrals of Saint Medericus, and of Santa Genoveva, with numerous monasteries and convents in the gardens around. Paris and its environs formed the *Pagus Parisiacus*, with its own jurisdiction. Pepin the Short had died there, and was buried in Saint Denis, a splendid abbey, built by the Merovingians, over the tomb of the Gallic Apostle. SITHIU (now Saint Omer), with a celebrated monastery, in which the last Merovingian king died. BONONIA (Boulogne), on the coast, had arsenals for the armament of the coast fortresses, which Charlemagne had built to protect the country from the piratic expeditions of the Northmen. It was likewise the station for one of his fleets. Another squadron was placed at GANDA (Gand), on the junction of the *Scaldis* (Scheldt), with the Ligeris (Lys). SOISSONS still preserved its rank as the ancient capital; it was there that Carloman was crowned, while his brother Charles chose LAUDUNUM (Laon), in Austrasia, for his ceremony. TURONES (Tours), on the Loire, was still the resort of thousands of pilgrims, who thronged to the shrine of Saint Martin. Among the royal residences we mention VERBERIA, *Verberiacum* (Verberie), northwest of Paris, where Pepin held a celebrated diet the first year of his reign, and Charlemagne built a splendid palace. CARTSIACUS (*Quierzy*), northeast of the former, on the *Isara* (Oise), where Charles often resided, and ATTINIACUM (Attigny), southeast of the former on the *Axona* (Aisne), where the brave and unhappy Wittikind, the most distinguished of the Saxon leaders, did homage to Charlemagne in 785, and was baptized in the river.

182. BURGUNDIA (Bourgogne), embraced at that time all ancient HELVETIA (Switzerland). Charlemagne divided Burgundy between his sons. LYON and GENEVA were the largest

cities. The latter place, on the Lake Leman, was the rendezvous of the feudal armies of Charlemagne, in the campaign against Lombardy, in 772.

183. AQUITANIA (Aquitaine), reached across the Pyrenees to the banks of the Iberus (Ebro). The Aquitanians hated the Franks, and were always ready, under their own dukes, to take up arms against them. Duke Hunold was vanquished by Charlemagne in 769, and Aquitania, having become erected into a kingdom, was given to his youngest son, Louis. It contained fifteen counties, the provinces of Vasconia (Gascogne), Septimania, the Spanish Marches, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands. TOLOSA (Toulouse), was the capital. BURDIGALA (Bordeaux), FRANCIACUM (Fronsac), on the *Dordonia* (Dordogne), a strong fortress built by Charles in 770, to check the Aquitanians.

184. VASCONIA, at the foot of the Pyrenees, south of Aquitania, did homage to Charles, but its perfidious duke, Lupus, taking advantage of the difficult retreat of Charles through the deep valleys of the Pyrenees, joined with his mountaineers the Saracenic enemy, and cut to pieces the rear-guard of the Franks. But Charlemagne, having captured the duke, punished his treachery with the gallows, confiscated his duchy, and assigned to King Louis the mountain region of Bigorre, Béarn, and lower Navarre, while the rest of the district was placed under the imperial government of the Frankish counts. ROSCIDA VALLIS, Roncevalles, Roncevaux (the Briar-Valley), on the upper *Irati*, a tributary of the Aragon, is the celebrated valley where Charlemagne, in 778, after his brilliant campaign on the Ebro, and the conquest of CÆSAR-AUGUSTA (Zaragoza), suffered the terrible defeat in which Roland, the border-count of Bretagne, perished with the Frankish rear-guard, and all the Saracenic spoils were lost. The battle was fought in the defile of the highest Pyrenees, still called *Puerta de Val Carlos*, in commemoration of the only disaster that checked the victorious career of Charles. From the plain

below, Charles was an eye-witness to the destruction of his brave companions, without being able to bring them relief.[50]

MARCA HISPANICA or *Gothiæ* (the Spanish Border), consisted of Septimania (124) and the *Comitatus Barcinonæ*, the county of Barcelona, whose southern frontier was the river Ebro. Zaragoza and upper Aragon were soon reconquered by the Arabs, and the wild inhabitants of the Pyrenees were continually wavering in their alliance with the Franks or the Moslemin. BARCINONA (Barcelona) was besieged and taken by King Louis of Aquitaine in 801, and became henceforth the capital of the Spanish border. AMPURIAS and TARRAGONA on the Mediterranean—TORTOSA, a strong city on the Ebro, was taken by Charlemagne in 811, but fell soon back again into the power of the Moslemin. PAMPILUNA (Pamplona), northwest, on the *Arga*, was the capital of the district *Marca Vasconensis*, which was lost in 824, after a second defeat of the Franks by the Mohammedans, in the defile of Roncevalles. Upon the whole, the conquests of Charlemagne in Spain were very precarious, and could only be held during the civil wars among the Arabs, and the rebellions of the Saracen *Walis* or governors of the Chalif of Cordova, who sought a refuge at the court of Charlemagne. Barcelona, however, was maintained, but its counts made themselves independent toward the close of the 9th century.

185. ITALIA or *Longobardia* (Lombardy), was conquered by Charlemagne in 773–74. The last Lombard king, Desiderius, died as a prisoner in France, and Lombardy was erected into a kingdom, and awarded to Pepin, the second son of Charles, in 781. It comprised the greater part of the Italian peninsula, from the base of the Alps, on the north, to the territory of Gaeta and the river *Liris* (Garigliano), on the south, which formed the frontier of the tributary duchy of Beneven-

[50] The death of Count Roland at the battle of Roncevalles, is the only historical fact connected with a name that afterwards becomes so celebrated in the romances and epic poems of the Norman-French minstrels and the Italian poets Pulci, Bojardo, and the divine Ariosto.

tum. Within the kingdom of Italy lay, on the west, the PATRIMONIUM SANCTI PETRI (the Papal See), consisting of the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. It comprised, 1, the duchy of *Rome*, from the river *Marta* to the *Liris*; 2, *Tuscia*, from the *Marta* north to the *Floris* and the duchy of *Perusia* (Perugia); 3, *Sabina* with the duchy of *Spoletum*; 4, The *Exarchate of Ravenna*, with the *Pentapolis* (153), along the coast of the Adriatic. ROME was the scene of the coronation of Charlemagne, on Christmas day, in A. D. 800, in the ancient Basilica of St. Peter in Vaticano. RAVENNA was still a splendid city. PAVIA had suffered from the long siege, and now lost its prerogative as capital of the Lombard kingdom. The Lombards of VERONA made the last stand against Charlemagne. In that strong position Adalgisa, the brave son of King Desiderius, attempted in vain to sustain the independence of the Lombard nation. He fled to Constantinople, but Charlemagne, still fearing the conspiracies of the Lombard dukes in his favor, abolished the old Lombard laws and constitution, and introduced the Frankish administration. Only the Papal states remained independent, the Emperor reserving for himself the title of Protector Sancti Petri.

186. THE DUCHY OF BENEVENTUM.—The Lombard dukes of this fertile territory remained almost independent of the empire, though the duke did homage to Charles, and paid a yearly tribute of 25,000 gold pieces. It contained the greater part of the present kingdom of Naples, from the Pescara to Tarentum. Duke Romualdus had conquered the eastern coastland of Apulia (now Terra di Bari) from the Byzantine empire, and given it the name *Longobardia Minor*. The rivers Sabbatus and Neta separated the duchy from the Italian possessions of the Greeks.[51]

BENEVENTUM on the Vulturnus, was the elegant and splendid capital of the dukes. CAPUA, the southernmost point to

[51] The Greek empire, besides Calabria, still possessed in Italy the town and promontory of Otranto, the duchy of Naples, Cajeta (Gaeta), Sardinia, Sicily, and Malta.

which Charlemagne carried his victorious arms during his expedition in 807. LUCERIA (Lucera), in the Apulian plain, was taken by the Franks in 802. ACERENZA, in the interior, and SALERNUM on the Posidonian or Salernian Gulf, both strong fortresses, which Charlemagne considered so dangerous, that he ordered Duke Grimoaldus to demolish their walls, when he granted him the investiture of the duchy.

187. EASTERN PROVINCES BELONGING TO THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.—The Marquisate of FRIULI, on the northeast of Italy, was governed by Frankish counts after the revolt and death of the last duke in 777. When Pepin became king of Italy, FRIULI formed a most important *marquisate* or border county, which comprised Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, on the frontiers of the Byzantine empire. CIVITAS AUSTRIÆ, *Forum Julii*, or *Friuli* (now Udine), north of Aquileia, was the capital.

JUSTINOPOLIS (now Capo d'Istria), the capitalof Istria, and all the maritime towns on the Dalmatian coast, belonged to the Greeks. The frontier line between the two empires is not known. The Sclavonic tribe of the CHROBATI or Croats, occupying the northeast of Dalmatia, as far south as the river *Cettina*, near Spalatro, were subjects of Charlemagne, while the SORABIANS or *Serbians*, in the eastern province of SERBIA, beyond the mountains, acknowledged the supremacy of Byzantium.

VENICE, enthroned on her hundred isles, was already an independent republic. King Pepin had in vain attempted to attack her with his Frankish army. She had beaten him back from her impregnable lagoons, and it was only a mere ceremony when she sent her ambassadors in 806 to do homage to the old Emperor at Aquisgranum.

B.—TRIBUTARY NATIONS.

188. POSITION AND POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE SCLAVONIANS.—We have seen (77, 117) the advance of the different *Slavic* nations westward on the Elbe, and their settlement all

along the eastern frontiers of the Franks, from the Baltic south to the Danube and the Adriatic. With Charlemagne begins the period of the Slavic wars, which continued almost without interruption to the thirteenth century, when the Sclavonians were either driven back on the Vistula or became christianized, Germanized, and incorporated in the German Empire. Charlemagne laid the foundation to those eastern *marches* or border districts, which somewhat later appear in the history of the Carlovingian emperors, under the name of *Marca Sorabica*, *Bohemica* (Nordgau), *Orientalis*, *Avarica*, *Windorum* (Windische Mark), and extended from the Elbe all along the Carpathian and Bohemian Mountains to the Theiss, the lower Danube, the Save and the Dalmatian hills on the Mediterranean. Charlemagne himself, in the midst of his multifarious occupations, undertook several expeditions against the OBOTRITES on the Baltic, the WILTZES or *Welatabes*, between the Elbe and the Oder, and the CHECKS (Czechs), in Bohemia, who all acknowledged the Frankish supremacy, while the Empire was governed by so strong an arm. The Slavi even took up German habits, and they called their native *zupanies*, *kral* (könig), in imitation of the Germans. The religion of the Slavi was Dualistic, with some notions of Odin and Walhalla. Their institutions were as primitive as their manners; their character was good-natured, light-hearted and fickle; they possessed neither the bright understanding of the Romanic nations, nor the depth of feeling and the integrity of the Germans, nor the chivalrous bearing, the fancy, and the romance of the Northmen. The Slavi could only act under strong impulses from without; their virtue consisted in obedience; the world has felt this, and called the strictest form of serfdom—*slavery*.

189. Such was the vast empire which the small nation of the Franks, in the course of three centuries, had united by force of arms, and a truly great monarch had extended and consolidated by his genius. Charlemagne was now an old man; from his beloved Aquisgranum he directed the government of so many nations, and secured the tranquillity and progress of

the European world with admirable equity and vigor; but he foresaw that he would be called off before his new creation would have attained the vitality and strength necessary for its existence. He feared the ambition or incapacity of his sons, and he therefore resolved himself to superintend the approaching division of his states. A national assembly was called together in Thionville, in 806, where he proceeded to a general division of his dominions in the presence of his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis. To Louis, the youngest, he gave Aquitaine, with Gascogne, Septimania, the Spanish border, Burgundy, and Provence; to Pepin, Italy southern Alemannia, with Bavaria, and the eastern frontier lands, as far as the Danube and the upper Rhine; and to Charles, the future Emperor, France proper, that is Austria (Austrasia), Neustria, northern Alemannia, with the *Northgau* of Bavaria, Thuringia, Saxonia, and Friesland. He even provided for all the eventualities by the demise of the one or the other of his sons, in order that no civil wars might break out after his death, and destroy the glorious work of so active and successful a reign. Yet his prudent designs were not to be fulfilled. Charlemagne himself lived to see his two most worthy sons die, the one after the other, and when he, shortly before his own death in 814, crowned Louis the Good, his only remaining son, Emperor in Aquisgranum, he gave to this weak and bigoted youth the whole empire, with the exception of Italy, which was awarded to his nephew, Bernard, the son of Pepin. The rebellion and death of Bernard, the subsequent civil wars between Louis le Debonnair and his own violent and unnatural sons, and the antipathy of the different nationalities—French, German, Aquitanian, and Italian—caused within thirty years (818–843) the eventful treaty at Verdun, which assigned to the great European states that extent and those limits which, with few modifications, they still preserve at the present day.

II. INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN NATIONS ABOUT A. D. 800.

A.—The Northmen.

190. Scandinavia.—In the north the tardy dawn of day has begun; the sagas become more consistent; we stand at last on a firm historical footing. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, are still divided among petty kings; yet so early as 735 we distinguish the Danish Sea-king Harald Gold-tooth (Hildetand), who, by dint of his sword, united the greater part of the islands and the mainland of Sweden. On the heath of Braavalla, in East Gothland, he fought a great battle with his nephew, the Swedish king Sigurd Ring, in A. D. 740, during the government of Charles Martel in France. At this famous engagement all the petty kings and pirates of the north, and most of the nations bordering the Baltic, Sclavonians, Saxons, Livonians, Frisians and others, met in arms. King Sigurd headed the hosts of northern Sweden and Norway, and the fairest of the shield-maidens (*skjoldmöer*), Ursina, bore his banner. After the most sanguinary combat, the Danes gave way before the Norwegian archers from Tellemark; the blind old king, Harald, mounted on his battle-car, drives furiously into the throng of battle; all his chieftains sink around him, and he dies himself the death of a hero. Both armies then stop the slaughter; they surround the magnificent funeral pile on which the body of King Harald is burned with his armor, chariot, and war-horse. King Sigurd, the victor, crosses over the Sound to the Danish islands, and builds the town of Ringsted in Sealand, where he lies buried. His son, Regnar Lodbrok, extends his maritime expeditions to Britain in 794. The Danish rovers burn the monastery of Saint Cuthbert on the Isle of Lindisfarne; but they are defeated by King Ella of Northumberland, who throws the Danish Sea-king into the

Snake-tower, where the old lion suffers the most horrible death among the reptiles, while singing the *Lodbrokar Quida* or *Biarke Maal*, the wildest and most beautiful song of the Northmen.[52] Sigurd Snake-eye (Snogöje), his son, inherited Denmark, but was slain in battle with the Frankish border counts in A. D. 803, after extending his sway over all Reit-Gothland (Jutland), Skaane, Halland, and the southern parts of Norway. Another son, Björn (Bear), ruled in Sweden, while the more illustrious third brother, Godfred, King of Jutland, advanced upon the Eider, where he erected the celebrated wall or mound of earth and stones, the DANNEVIRKE, across the peninsula from the bay of the river Schley (Slias-wyk or Schleswig), westward to the North Eider, to protect his Scandinavian dominions from the inroads of the conquering Franks of Charlemagne at that time—A. D. 806—occupied in the subjugation and conversion of the Saxons. Fleets of the Northmen began already their piratical descents upon the coasts of Friesland, and at the mouth of the Scheldt and Rhine. In order to control these dangerous guests, the great Emperor built the Castle of HAMMABURG (Hamburg) on the Elbe, and concluded a treaty with the successor of Godfred, King Hemming, of Jutland; according to which the Eider should form the boundary between Denmark and the Frankish Empire, and the Danes abandon their conquests south of that river. A few

[52] In this lament of twenty-five stanzas, King Regnar recounts all the conquests and cruelties of his wild life, each stanza beginning with the fearful words, "We hewed with swords in deadly strife." The closing lines paint admirably the wild faith of the heathen Northman:

"Cease my strain! I hear them call,
Who bid me hence to Odin's hall!
High-seated in their bless'd abodes,
I soon shall quaff the cup of gods;—
The hours of life have glided by,
I fall! but laughing will I die!"

Regnar received his by-name of *Lodbrok* from the shaggy skin-garments he wore over his armor.

years later Christianity was preached in Denmark by Ansgarius, the Apostle of the North (826), and in 883 we find the whole kingdom united under King Gorm the Old of Sealand.

SWEDEN was still an almost unknown country. Björn Ironside, the son of Regnar Lodbrok, inherited *Swearike* and *Gota-land*, and resided at Biörkö, on the frith of Mælarn. In 826, he invited the monk Ansgarius, then preaching the Gospel in Schleswig, to visit Sweden. The courageous missionary followed the call; he and his monks visited the large city of Leire, on Sealand (106), then the capital of the Danish kings, and though captured by the pirates in the Sound, and losing his precious Bibles and missals, the excellent man, nevertheless, succeeded in reaching the dreary coast of Halland. Beautiful, romantic Sweden, was then a wilderness. For days and weeks the poor monks waded through morasses, intersected with copse woods and pine forests, without meeting a human being: they had to cross the stormy lakes in small canoes, and while forcing their way through the mountains, they were every moment in danger of falling into the fangs of some shaggy bear; but protected by an all-ruling Providence, and by the relics of Saint Cuthbert,—as Ansgarius says,—and by their persevering courage, they at last descended on the smiling banks of the Mælarn, the only part of the interior of Sweden which was permanently settled at that remote period. Ansgarius was well received by King Björn and his *drottars*, or chiefs, one of whom built the first Christian church on the Mælarn; and it is a remarkable fact that the Swedes, even at the sanctuary of Odin at Sigtuna, were more tractable than the Danes of the islands, or the still more savage mountaineers of Norway.

NORWAY was still divided into a great number of smaller states, which were formed by the deep valleys, bays, and friths on the mainland, or on the numerous islands off the coast. Each district had its king. THROND, MÆRE, FJORD, in the north; SOGN, HORDALAND, ROGALAND, WESTFOLD, on the coast of the ocean; AGDE, WIKEN, on the south; HADA-

LAND, TELLEMARK, HEDEMARK, UPLAND, in the interior. All these petty states were united in the kingdom of Norway in 880, by the heavy sword of Harald, the fair-haired (Haarfager).

B.—SCLAVONIC AND TURCO-TARTARIC NATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE.

191. The LJÆCHS, or POLES, inhabited the upper *Odera* (Oder), and the Vistula. They were still divided into small principalities, and seem to have done homage to Charlemagne, since his historian, Eginhard, says that the sway of the Franks reached eastward to the Vistula.

192. North of the Ljæchs, we find the mighty Slavic people of the WENDES (107), and the fierce BORUSSI (Prussians), on the Baltic (91), and bordering eastward on the LITWANI, or *Lithuanians*, and KRIWITCHI. On the northern slope of the Carpathian range, lived the BELO-CHROVATES, or *White Croats*, and on the Dniester the POLÆNI and smaller tribes, who had at that time begun to yield to the Turkish hordes of the Chazars, rapidly advancing from the shores of the Caspian Sea, toward the upper plain of Slavia.

193. THE CHAZARS (91) are held to be an East German nation, allied with the Alani, by Ritter and other German ethnologists, but they seem rather to belong to the true Turco-Tartar race. They were divided into forty tribes, under their hereditary chiefs—Chans—yet they acknowledged the supremacy of a great Chan, or *Chagan*, who possessed sovereign authority. The Chazars were a commercial people. Though originally Nomades, they soon became agriculturists in the fertile lands on the Kuban and the lower Volga; they raised rice, fruits, corn and wine. From their important fisheries on the Caspian, they obtained the sturgeon, their principal nourishment. They ascended the Volga, and brought their skins, fish, and the Indian stuffs and luxuries to Constantinople. From the northern MORDWINS and RUSSNIAKS (Russians), they bartered honey,

wax, and precious furs, which they transported to Africa, Spain, and France. ATEL, or *Balangiar* (near Astracan), at the mouth of the Volga, was the residence of the Chagan. His palace was brick-built, but the Chazaric dwellings were clay huts. SARKEL, a Chazaric fortress on the Don, was built by Byzantine engineers in their service, to defend the passage of the river against the incursions of the Russians. The Chazars maintained their vast empire until the middle of the 10th century; but then it began rapidly to decline, partly by civil feuds of the clans against the Chagan, and the rebellion of the kindred tribes, the CUMANI and PETCHENEGES (Patzinacks), and partly by the successful attacks of the Russian Grand Dukes of Kiew, who, uniting with the Emperor Basilius in A. D. 1016, defeated and captured the great Chan, George Zoulus, and divided the territory, which still for centuries preserved its name of *Chazaria*. The warlike nation was lost among other tribes on the Caspian; but part of their descendants seem to have preserved themselves unadulterated, in the noble race of the Kadjars (Usbecks), on the east of the Volga, and the Caspian Sea.

III. THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

194. LIMITS AND VICISSITUDES. — Terrible were the storms that broke loose on the Eastern Empire during the latter years of the more brilliant than prosperous reign of Justinian I. His weak successors were threatened with total destruction. Huns, Avars, Slavini, Bulgarians, Tartaric, and Turcoman tribes forced the formidable line of the frontier fortresses along the Danube, overran the Illyrian provinces, and settled at last (during the 7th century) permanently in Mœsia, Dacia, Illyria, Thrace, Macedonia, and in the heart of Hellas herself. The Lombards occupied the greater part of Italy, the reconquest of which, from the Ostrogoths, by Belisarius and Narses, had cost the empire such waste of blood and treasure. The kings of the Visigoths in Spain drove the

Greek garrisons from the cities and posts of Bœtica and Carthaginensis, in southeastern Spain, in 619. The brilliant victories of Heraclius over the Persian Kosroes, the subsequent destruction of the Persian empire on the Tigris, and reconquest of Jerusalem and Syria, in A. D. 621–28, served only to weaken the empire, and to kindle the fiery flames of religious dissension. On the first appearance of the *Mohammedan Saracens*, from the Arabian deserts, in 632, the Christian sectarians embraced the Koran. Damascus, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell, 635–38; Alexandria and Egypt in 640; and the Arabian torrent rolled on through Northern Africa. Carthage was conquered by Abd-el-Malek, in 684, and the crescent of Mohammed had already reached the ocean in 705, and stood planted on the ruins of the ancient Christian cities, from the Atlantic on the west, to the distant frontiers of Cilicia, Armenia, and Lazica, at the base of Mount Caucasus on the east. Cyprus was lost in 805, Crete in 823, and Sicily in 826; and thus, of all the extensive territories of the empire, and the recent conquests of Justinian I., there remained in the era of Charlemagne, only the impregnable capital of Constantinople, with some parts of Thrace, Macedonia, the Ægean Islands, Asia Minor, and a few cities on the coasts of Crimea and of Dalmatia, besides Gaeta, Naples, and the coast of Calabria, in Southern Italy.

Sclavonian Settlements in the Byzantine Empire.

195. A. Kingdom of the Bulgarians.—In the preceding maps we have followed the advance of that Sclavo-Tartaric nation, from their early seats on Mount Oural (93), to the shores of the Euxine (108, 149), whence they made devastating incursions into the Byzantine empire. While roaming on the plains between the Don, Dneister, and Pruth, the Avars fell upon them and subdued them; yet the cruelty of their oppressors was so intolerable, that the Bulgars threw off the yoke in 619, and, under the command of their Chan Kuvrat

(149), defeated the Avars, and maintained their independence under his successors. The Chan Asparuch crossed the Danube in 678, and founded the Bulgarian kingdom in Mœsia, between the Hæmus and the Danube—the present Bulgaria. A great portion of this fertile territory had already been occupied by Sclavonian emigrants, TIVERZI, SERVERIANS, and others, who appear to have exterminated the last remains of the old Thracian race. These Sclavonians were called the *Seven Tribes*. The Bulgarians, although the dominant race, became, after the conquest, absorbed into the mass of the Sclavonian population. Thus the original Turco-Tartar race of the Bulgarians adopted the Sclavonian language, and gave their name to the country, which it retains at the present day, yet they preserved many traces of their earlier nomadic habits. Like the son of the steppes, the Bulgar is still inseparable from his horse—his *alogon*, or mute friend. He is laborious, good-natured, and hospitable. The Bulgarian women are kind-hearted, compassionate, and industrious; their figure is slender; their deportment elegant; and they yield, in charms, only to the Greek women, the very model of female beauty in the East.

They continued their wars with the Byzantine emperors, who were often defeated; the Khan Krummus took, in 815, advantage of the humiliation of the Avars by Charlemagne; he crossed the Danube, prostrated the mortal enemies of the Bulgarians, and founded on their ruins the *great Bulgarian Empire*, which toward the middle of the 9th century extended from the Theiss, and the Carpathian ridge, south across the Danube, through Macedonia and Epirus to the frontiers of Greece. During this period the Bulgarians were converted to Christianity by the Greek missionaries, Methodius and Cyrillus, an event of the highest importance, not only because it promoted the civilization of that barbarous people, but because the virulent contest between the Romish Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople, about the Bulgarian *converts*, proved the main cause of the great schism which for ever severed the Latin and Greek churches.

196. B. SERBIA or *Territory of the Servians.*—The Emperor Heraklius being unable to defend western Illyria and Dalmatia against the inroads of the Avars, induced some Sclavonic tribes from the Carpathian mountains, the SERBS and CHROBATS (Croats), to abandon their ancient seats and move down south, into the provinces between the Adriatic and the Danube. The Greek and Roman population had been driven toward the sea-coast by the continual forays of the Avars, and these beautiful and fertile regions were now repeopled by the gallant and chivalrous SERVIANS or *Rascians*, the noblest, most spirited and imaginative of the Sclavonic tribes, who, under their native chiefs or *Zupanies*, remained faithful in their allegiance to the empire until A. D. 1040, when Stephan Boistlaf made himself an independent *kral* or king of Serbia.

C. SCLAVONIAN TRIBES IN GREECE.—Numerous hordes of Slavi (Slavini, Slavesiani), mixed with Bulgarians and Avars, had, during the revolutions on the Danube in the beginning of the 8th century, descended through the pass of Thermopylæ, and settled in Hellas under their native chiefs, almost entirely independent of Constantinople. They took possession of Thessaly, Bœotia, and the peninsula of Peloponnesus, which at that time already began to be called *Morea* (from the mulberry tree, perhaps, introduced there by Justinian in 555). The Sclavonians occupied Argolis, Arcadia, Elis, Messenia, and the valley of Laconia, while the native Greeks fled to the okasts and the higher mountain-regions, and it was not until a century later, in 860, that Michael III. sent his general, Theoctistos, with an army to the Morea, and succeeded in reducing the Sclavonian princes to the allegiance of the empire. The free Laconians had then retired to the fastnesses of the mount Taygetus, and the plains of Messenia and Laconia were occupied by two warlike Sclavonian tribes, the Melingi and Ezeritæ, who were reduced to pay tribute to the Emperor.[53]

[53] Even to the present day we find traces of these Sclavonian settlements on the plains of the Morea, where the villages still retain the old

The Emperor Leo VI. (886–911), in his important work on the military organization of the Byzantine empire, gives a favorable description of the Sclavonic nations in Greece. The Slavi loved liberty, though they were unable to preserve it; they disdained the service of foreigners, and preferred the severer sway of their native Zupanies to the milder government of Byzantium. They were sincere, hospitable, and mild toward their prisoners. The imperial historian praises the beauty and modesty of the Sclavonian women, and the faithful affection of their husbands, as characteristic virtues of that race. Herds and flocks were their riches; agriculture their occupation, but they neglected mechanical arts and commerce; their wants were few, and they preferred to enjoy an independent life, rather than to earn comforts and affluence to which they were indifferent.

IV. THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD.

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY DURING THE CALIPHATE OF HAROUN-AR-RASCHID.

197. Extent and Boundaries.—Mohammed preached the Islam faith in Mecca. With his flight to Medina, on the 15th July, 622, begins the era of the Arabs. On his death in 632, his religion and his banner extended throughout Arabia, and within one century his enthusiastic Moslemin had already subjected to their laws all that part of Asia which extends from the range of Mount Taurus eastward to the Himmalaya and the Indus, and

Sclavonic names; as, for instance, Slava, Slavochori, Varsava, Vervitza, Vilitza, Kosovo, Tzernagora, A Rova, Arachova, Dobrena,—while on the coast the Hellenic names prevail:—Corinth, Patræ, Arcadia, Modon, Coron, Vitylos, Prastos, Argos, Nauplia, Epidauros, and others See, for details on the Sclavonians in Greece, and their influence on the manners and language of the modern Greeks, Geo. Finlay's Mediæval Greece, Edinburgh, 1851.

from the Indian Ocean on the south, to Mount Caucasus and the river Jaxartes (Sihun) on the north; in Africa, they had conquered Egypt and all the northern regions between the coasts of the Mediterranean and the great desert of Sahara in the interior; from thence they had crossed the straits of Calpe in 711, and after the defeat and death of the Visigoth king, Roderic, at Xeres, on the Guadalete, they had occupied the greatest part of Spain, driving the Goths into the Asturian mountains; nay, they had even crossed the Pyrenees with their hundred thousands, and, in 732, advanced upon the Loire, when the Frankish hero, Charles the Hammer, saved France and all Christendom by his memorable victory at Tours. At the time when this vast empire was divided into two, in consequence of the establishment of the Emirate of Cordova or of the West, A. D. 756, it stretched from the shores of the Atlantic eastward beyond the Indus, and from the African desert and the Indian Ocean on the south, to the Pyrenees in Europe, the Mediterranean, Mount Caucasus, the Caspian, the deserts north of the Sihun, and Mount Muztag, on the borders of China.

198. DIVISION.—The dynasty of the Ommiyad Caliphs perished, under the most terrific civil wars, in the year 750, and Abul-Abbas-el-Saffah (the Butcher), the first Caliph of the Abbasids, transferred his residence from the blood-stained Damascus to *Hira*, on the Euphrates, in 754. Yet the Ommiyad Abdor-Rhaman had escaped the general destruction of his family, and, fleeing to Spain, had founded the independent Emirate of Cordova in 755. During the revolutions which followed this political division in the Arabic empire, other chiefs asserted their independence in Northern Africa, and thus we find the Mohammedan world, at the time of Charlemagne and the Abbasid Caliph Haroun-ar-Raschid (786–809), divided into four large states or dynasties: 1, The Caliphate of *the Abbasids* in Asia and Egypt; 2, The Kingdom of *Kairrouan*, or the dynasty of the *Aglabites*, in the ancient territory of Carthage, and part of Numidia; 3, The Kingdom of *Mek-*

ines, or the dynasty of the *Edrisites*, in Mauritania; and 4, the Emirate of *Cordova*, or the dynasty of the younger branch of the *Ommiyads*, in Spain. In order to give clearness to our description of the Saracenic empire toward the close of the 8th century, we shall describe the provinces in the succession in which they were annexed to the Caliphate of Damascus, beginning with the mother country, Arabia herself.

A.—Caliphate of the Abbasids in Bagdad.

199. Limits, Division, and Provinces.—The orthodox successors (Caliphs) of the Prophet ruled over the eastern Mohammedan world, from the great Syrtis eastward to the Indus, and from the frontiers of Nubia in the south, to Mount Caucasus, the river Sihun and Mount Muztag in the north, and the empire embraced the following provinces:

200. I. Arabia.—*Djésirah-al-Arab*—the Island of Araby—was, from the remotest times, inhabited by populations who differed from one another in their habits and manners, and were divided into a great number of tribes, each governed by an Emir or Sheik, the patriarch of the family. We likewise distinguish two principal divisions with regard to their pursuits: 1st, the *Nomades*, known by the ancients as *Scenitæ* (Σκηνῖται) or dwellers in tents, afterwards called the Sons of the Desert, *Saracens*, or Bedawins.[54] They were wandering about with their herds of camels and horses in the oasis of northern Arabia, where the kingdom of the *Ghassanides* (or of Edom) had been formed on the frontiers of Syria; other tribes of nomading Saracens inhabited the dreary table lands of al-Nedjed in central Arabia: 2d, the *Hhaddesi* or sedentary Arabs, who dwelt in the cities and villages situated along the coasts of the Red Sea (Bahr Kolzom). They consisted

[54] Saracens is supposed to signify *Scharakajim*, natives of the East; and Bedawins or Bedouins to be derived from *Badia*, desert,—*Bar*, *Broi*, Berbers.

likewise of two races—the *Hagareans* or Ismaelites, the descendants of Ismael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, who inhabited northern Arabia, and were partly idolaters and partly Jews, while some partook of the Magian worship and adored the stars. The second race were the *Sabeans*, who occupied the southern regions of Arabia—by the ancients called Araby the Blessed. There the *Homeirids* (Himjarids) had early accepted the Mosaic faith; but in A. D. 527, they were converted to Christianity by the sword of the Christian Kings of Abyssinia in Africa. Yemen, with its flourishing cities, its delightful climate, rich productions and traffic with India, was considered the gem of Arabia. At the period which now occupies us, all these states had embraced the new faith, and obeyed the great Caliph of the Prophet in Bagdad.

201. PRINCIPAL CITIES.—MEKKA, an ancient city, situated in a narrow sandy valley fifty-five miles from the coast, and its port, *Djedda*, on the Red Sea, in the province of EL HEDJAZ. It was the sacred city of the Arabs, and pilgrims of every creed assembled there at the yearly festival in the great sanctuary of the *Beit Allah* or House of God, with the *Ca'aba*, and the black stone which Adam was said to have brought away from the terrestrial paradise. It was here where Mohammed began his preaching in A. D 610; and after the conquest of the city in 629, called the *Moslemin* (believers), together on the hill of *Arafat*, and was proclaimed the spiritual and temporal sovereign of the Arabs. DJEBEL HARAH, southeast of Mekka, into whose grottoes Mohammed retired to meditate his great reform. DJEBEL THOR, northeast, the cavern to which he fled for safety from the pursuit of the Koreishites on the 15th July, 622, and whence he sped through the desert to Medina. YATHREB —Jathrippa—called *Medinah-al-Nebi*, the city of the Prophet (now Medina), where Mohammed found a refuge after his flight (Hedjra) from Mekka in 622, lies 270 miles north of the latter city, and became the capital and burial-place of Mohammed and the first Caliphs. In its splendid mosque stand the tombs of Mohammed, Abu-Bekr, and Omar.

202. BEDR, southwest of Medina, in a valley near the coast of the Bahr Kolzom, was the celebrated battle-field on which Mohammed gained the first victory over his inveterate enemies, the Koreishites of Mekka, in 624. DJEBEL OHOD, four miles northwest of Medina, was the scene of the reformer's defeat in 625, which had nearly crushed Mohammedanism in its birth. CHAIBAR, northeast of Medina, in the Djebel Solma, the strongly fortified capital of the Jews in the north of Arabia. It was stormed and taken by Mohammed in 627, and the Jews converted to Islam by the edge of the sabre; it was here that the Jewish maiden, Zaïnah, poisoned the Prophet, who died three years later from the effects of the potion. TABUK, the fountain and palm-grove, midway between Damascus and Medina, where the old and sick Prophet stopped the march of his suffering army in 632, and returned to die in Medina. MUTAH (Mothus), near the eastern shore of Bahr el Luth (the Dead Sea), where the Mohammedans gained the first victory over the Greek army in 632. The valley of HONEIN, north of Mekka, is celebrated by the important victory of Mohammed over the idolatrous tribes of Arabia. DAWMAT AL JANDAL (Dumet el Djondol), on the outskirts of the Syrian Desert in the interior, the first Christian city which the fanatic Mussulmans took in 626; but having been lost to the Greeks, it was reconquered by Khaled in 631, and its fall secured the Arabs the eastern road to Damascus. AILAH (Akabah), fortress and port on the northeastern gulf of the Red Sea (Bahr Akabah), the conquest of which secured to the Mohammedans the passage through the valley of Mount Sinai.

203. In YEMEN, SA'ANAH (Sabah), the capital. MOCHA, ADEN (Abin), a port on the Indian Ocean; BAHREIN on the coast of the Persian Gulf (Bahr Alakdar); the kingdom of GASSAN, north of Hedjaz; YEMAMAH, a powerful state in central Arabia (al Nedjed); which all were subdued by the generals of the Prophet in the years 628–631.

II. The kingdom of HIRA in Irak-Arabi, northeast of Arabia, on the western bank of the Euphrates, was the first

conquest of Abu-Bekr in 633. This kingdom, the Babylonian Irak, was governed by the Arabian chief Al-Mondar, under the sovereignty of Persia. HIRA was the capital, and an important commercial city not far from the Euphrates. AMBAR, on the north, became the capital of the Abbasids in 750, before the building of Bagdad.

204. III. SYRIA (es Sham), the whole region northwest of Arabia, as far as Mount *Amanus*, and from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, was the second conquest of the Arabs, who overran that country in 634–38. BOSTRA (11), east of Jordan, was betrayed by its governor to Khaled, the lieutenant of the Caliph. DAMASCUS (Dameschk, es-Sham), the richest and most populous city in southern Syria, surrendered after the second defeat of the troops of Heraclius at Aiznaddin. HAMATH (the ancient Epiphania), on the Orontes. SHAIZAR (the ancient Sarina), KINNESRIN (Chalcis), and other cities surrendered voluntarily to the victors.

On the banks of the HIEROMAX (Yermuk), a river discharging into the Jordan below the Lake of Tiberias, was the place of the last decisive battle, where the whole Roman army was cut to pieces in 636, a disaster which caused all Syria to surrender to the crescent. JERUSALEM (Beit el Mokkaddas) capitulated, after an obstinate defence of four months, to the Caliph Omar, who came himself to take possession of the holy city, and built the splendid mosque of Omar on Mount Moriah. HALEB (the ancient Beroa), TRIPOLIS (Tarabolos), TYRUS (Sur), CÆSAREA (Kaisarieh), JOPPE (Yafa), ASCALON, and many other cities, fell all successively into the power of the Arabs, who thus secured their rear for their expedition into Egypt and western Africa.

IV. SZOGHUR, that is, the land of defiles, the northern part of es-Sham, with the three celebrated defiles of Syria, of Mount Amanus, and of Cilicia—*Portæ Maritimæ*, *Amantides*, and *Ciliciæ*—which lead from Syria into Cilicia, and across Mount Taurus into the plains of Cappadocia. It embraced, likewise, the ancient Cilicia westward beyond Tarsus. ANTAKIA (Antiochia), on the Orontes, was the capital of all the provinces, and still the wealthiest and most populous eastern city of the Empire.

205. V. AL DJESIRAH—*Mesopotamia*—was likewise lost for the empire immediately after Syria, with all its important cities: EDESSA (Roha, Orfa), KARRÆ (Charran), NISIBIS (Nesbin), the celebrated frontier fortress. AMIDA (Diarbekir), afterwards the capital, took this name in consequence of the early colonization of the three Arab tribes, *Bekir*, *Modar*, and *Rabia*, among which Mesopotamia was divided, and called in its different parts Dejar Bekir, Dejar Modar, and Dejar Rabia.[55]

206. VI. DEJAR MESR—*Egypt*—one of the most important provinces of the Caliphate, which was conquered by the general Amer-Ben-Alas in 640, during the war with Persia. It was subdivided into *El Bahari* (the ancient Delta), *Kibi* or Said (middle and part of upper Egypt), and *El Wahat* or the land of the Oasis in the Libyan Desert. FARAMIAH (Pelusium), on the Mediterranean, north of the Isthmus of Suez, was the first town which Amer (Amru) took, when the Caliph Omar sent him against Egypt in 640. MISZR, the ancient Memphis, on the western bank of the Nile, at that time the most important city after Alexandria. It defended itself bravely, and could only be taken by treachery, after a fearful siege of seven months; it was so totally destroyed that Omar built a new town, *El Fostat*, on the eastern bank, and this too gave place three centuries later to the modern Cairo. ESKANDERIAH (Alexandria) was likewise stormed and taken after a siege of fourteen months, which cost the Arabs 20,000 warriors. Alexandria never rose to its former splendor. It was then that the great library is said to have been destroyed by the order of the Caliph Omar, although the story is hard to reconcile with the silence of the original historians, or the condition in which the library had been left at the destruction of the temple of Serapis, where it was placed. All Egypt surrendered

[55] *Al Djesirah* signifies the island, which answers to the Greek Mesopotamia, the region *between* the rivers. By inattention of the draughtsman, *Bejar* has been placed in the map instead of *Dejar* (region), land.

at the fall of Alexandria, which now became the granary of Arabia, as it formerly had been that of the Byzantine Empire. Its immense export of breadstuffs to Arabia was facilitated by the canal which placed the Nile in communication with the Red Sea, and which was repaired and restored by the Saracens.

VII. Nubia was likewise invaded by the Arabs in 651, under the Caliphate of Othman, who obliged the Christian kings of that country to pay annually a tribute of a large number of Ethiopian slaves.

207. VIII. Irak-Arabi (the ancient Babylonia), the central seat of the vast empire of the Sassanids, and which extended from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Indus, was the fourth conquest of the Arabs, who began their invasion of Persia at the time with that of Syria and the kingdom of Hira (203). Kadesiah, south of Hira, on the vast plain dividing Arabia from the banks of the Euphrates, was, in 636, during three days, a witness to the tremendous efforts of the whole Persian power to defend their country and religion against the Mohammedan fanatics. Yet they were defeated with fearful slaughter, and the last Persian king, Yezdegerd, became a fugitive, and was soon after killed on the banks of the Jaxartes. The Arabs now inundated all Irak-Arabi; Al-Madein, or the two towns, *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, situated over against each other, on the banks of the *Didjfat* (Tigris), were the price of this victory. The proud Arabs after having plundered the immense riches and treasures of the Persian kings, hoarded in the capitals, set fire to the cities, and left not one stone upon another. Bagdad was afterwards built by the Abbasids, on the Tigris, from the ruins of Al-Madein. Kufah, on the western bank of the Euphrates, obtained a great renown, as having for some time become the capital of the successors of Mohammed. It was in the mosque of that town that the venerable Ali, the fifth Caliph, was assassinated in 651. His sepulchre was then concealed from his mortal enemies, the Ommiyad tyrants of Syria, but in the fourth age of the Hedjra, a tomb, a temple, and a city arose

near the ruins of Kufah. Many thousands of *Alites*—called Shiites or heretics—repose in holy ground at the feet of the Vicar of God, and the desert around is vivified by numerous and annual visits of the Persians, who esteem their devotion at Ali's shrine not less meritorious than the pilgrimage to Mekka. BASSORAH or *Basrah*, toward the mouth of the Euphrates on the Persian Gulf, was founded by Omar, as a refuge for invalid warriors, and obtained a high reputation on account of its suitable commercial position. Near Bassorah was fought the battle of the camel, in which Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, during her rebellion, was defeated and taken prisoner on her camel by the generous Ali in 654. But the most celebrated city of the Saracens in that region was the famous city of BAGDAD—*Mohammedia* or *Medina al Salam*, city of peace—founded by the Abbasid Caliph, *El Mansur*, in 765, on the western bank of the Tigris, at some distance from the earlier Parthian and Persian capitals, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Dastagerd, then lying in their ruins after their destruction by the Emperor Heraclius in 627. Bagdad became the capital of the Arabian Empire, and the Caliphs continued to reside there from El Mansur down to the last Caliph, Abdallah Mostassem Billah, who perished in 1258 under the sword of the Mongol Hulagu, Its population was immense, and the wealth of the East was hoarded within its walls. In the western quarter was the great bazaar *El Karkh*, which, by a bridge, was united to the main part of the city. ASKER EL SERRAMENRA (the charming) was founded by Caliph Motassem Billah (the protected of God) in 842, twelve miles above Bagdad, as a splendid camp for the imperial life-guards, the Turkish mercenaries, who were thus kept separated from the mass of the Arabian population. The great palace there excited the wonder of the foreign ambassadors, and many Caliphs wasted their treasures on its embellishment. KERBELA, north of Hira, where *Hossein*, the son of Ali, perished in battle against the revengeful Ommiyads in 680. A splendid mosque arises on the spot; pilgrims from Persia stream in on the annual festival of his martyrdom, kneel

down at his sepulchre, and abandon their souls to the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation.

208. IX. BELAD LAUN (Armenia), north of the Kurdistan mountains, extended toward *Rum* (Asia Minor) on the west, and embraced the table-lands of Mount Ararat, and the head-waters of the Euphrates. ARZEN RUM (Erzerum), on the Euphrates, and the important defile, Kali Kala, the only narrow passage toward the coast-lands of Tarabesonda (Trapezus), on the Euxine (Bahr Nitesh). DEBIL, the capital of the province, at the foot of Mount Ararat, near the modern Bajasid.

X. ARAN (now the Russian province of Grusia or Georgia), north of Armenia, on the river *Kur* (Cyrus), toward Mount Caucasus, though divided into the small valley districts of the Highlands, obeyed the Caliph of Bagdad. SHARVAN or Shirwan on the east, with the capital BERDHA'A (Bakavi), on the Bahr Chozar, the Caspian Sea. SARIR, north, near the celebrated pass of Mount Caucasus, the *Bab el Abwab* (Derbend), which had been strongly fortified by the Greek emperors to stem the incursions of the roving Khazars north of the sea. Another pass, *Portæ Caspiæ*, descended between the highest peaks, Elboras and Kasbek, toward TIFLIS, the capital of KORDSHISTAN (Georgia). This was the frontier province bordering on the Allani and Khazars.

209. XI. ADJERBEIDJAN (the ancient Atropatene, in Media), south of Aran, extended to the shores of the Caspian, and was, after Irak-Arabi, one of the first provinces brought into subjection by the Mohammedans, who with fire and sword exterminated the Sabeans here in the centre of their fire worship. SHIZ (the ancient Phra'ata), in the south, was the most important city. ORMIJAH, on the *Bahr Kendan*—the lake Spauta, was the birth-place of Zer-Dusht (Zoroaster), the apostle of the Sabaïsm; TABRIZ (the ancient Gandsak), ARDEBIL became in 704 a thriving Mohammedan town.

XII. DILEM (Gilan), on the southwestern shores of the Bahr Chozar.

XIII. TABERISTAN, with *Koms* and *Damghan* in the interior,

and MAZANDARAN on the southern coast of the Caspian, with the cities of *Amol* and *Asterabad.*

210. XIV. ARAK or *Belad al Djebail* (the ancient Media), on the east of Mount Elvend, was conquered by the Arabs in 742. Here lay HAMADAN (the ancient Ekbatana), which was taken by the Arabs on their sudden appearance beyond the mountains. NEHAVEND, south of Hamadan, where the Persians suffered the last great defeat, which opened all the eastern countries as far as the *Sihun* (Jaxartes), and the *Sind* (Indus), to their victorious arms. ASPAHAN (Aspadana), now Ispahan, southeast of Hamadan, was built by the Sassanid princes, and became afterwards the capital of the modern Persian kingdom. RAY or *Mohammedia* (the ancient Rhagæ, where Alexander overtook the expiring Darius), was an important defile opening on the immense Parthian plains towards Khorasan. In the mountains of *Rudbar* arose the terrible sect of the *Assassins*, and their mysterious chief, the Old Man of the Mountain.

211. XV. KHUSISTAN (the ancient Susiana), east of Irak-Arabi, was occupied by the Arabs the same year as Arak Adjemi. It touched the Bahr el Fars or the Persian Gulf, and had the important town of SHUSH, and TUSTER the ancient Susa, which both made a gallant resistance. AHWAZ on the Choaspes, and RAMHORMUZ, became flourishing Arabian cities.

XVI. FARS—*Farsistan*—the ancient Pars, Persis, the cradle of Cyrus and the conquering Persians. ISTAKHAR, Persepolis, near the Araxes, the ancient Persian capital, was still a considerable city, where the unhappy Yezdegerd in vain made a last desperate stand in the impenetrable mountains of his ancestors. SIRAF, on the Persian gulf,[56] had an important harbor, and a lively trade with India. The more eastern provinces of the Caliphate of Bagdad, which are less important for our present purpose, but may easily be found on every modern map of Asia, were the following:

212. XVII. KHORASAN, northeast of Farsistan; XVIII.

[56] By the Arabs called *Bahr Alakhdhar*, the Green Sea.

SEDJESTAN, on the river *Hindmend*, the homestead of the celebrated hero Rustan; XIX. KERMAN; XX. MAKRAN, with the cities *Nichabour*, *Herat*, *Balk* (Bactra), and *Merv-al-Rud*, the ancient Alexandria Margiana. East of the Caspian, and north of the *Djihun* (Oxus), lay XXI. KHOWARESM—Chorasmia; and XXII. MAWAR-AL-NAHR, the ancient Sogdiana, beyond the Oxus, which the Arabs for a length of time hesitated to cross: both provinces were however occupied in 707–710, and thus arrived on the frontiers of Turkistan, the Arabs came in hostile contact with the Tchang, or Chinese, who in vain attempted to drive the Mohammedans back over the Djihun. The last Persian king, Yezdegerd, having perished by the daggers of his faithless mercenaries, the gallant Kotaïbah (the camel driver) now reduced all the countries between the Caspian, the Jaxartes, and Mount Muztag, which for centuries remained the frontier against the Chinese empire. BUKHARA and SAMARKAND, east of Bukhara, were both stormed and taken by Kotaïbah, who built there magnificent mosques, and the immense bazaars which remained the centre of the flourishing traffic of the Arabs with China and India. But the enthusiastic Mussulmans did not stop here; like Alexander the Great, they continued their march eastward, through XXIII. ZABULISHAN (now Afghanistan), and crossing the Indus (Sind), reduced XXIV. the MULTAN, and MANSURA (Scindy), on its eastern banks, in 710, when civil disturbances at home, the downfall of the Ommiyad dynasty, and the formation of the western Caliphate of Cordova, in Spain, put a stop to their eastern conquests. Thus then had the Arabs, in less than a century, founded a dominion vaster than that of Alexander, or even that of the Romans. The Caliphs themselves had taken no part in these conquests; they remained invisible in the interior of their seraglios, where their early simplicity and virtue gave way to the corrupting influences of sensuality and sloth. The Arabs, tired of destroying, began to rebuild the ruined cities; smiling gardens arose on the slopes of the mountains; the plains were cultivated and adorned with de-

lightful country-seats; the mosques, bazaars, and palaces of the Caliphs, were built in that beautiful style of Saracenic architecture, which afterwards struck the European crusaders with wonder and admiration. The Arab empire reached its culminating height of political power, cultivation, commerce, literature and art, during the age of Charlemagne, and the reign of the Caliph Haroun-ar-Raschid (the Just), from 786–809, when the great schisms in the Mohammedan faith, the rebellions of the provinces, and the rise of different heresies and dynasties, first began to threaten the dissolution of the Saracenic empire.

B.—Kingdom of the Aglabids in Kairouan.

213. The northern coast of Africa, west of Egypt, had been conquered by the Arabs, between the years 640 and 710, under continual insurrections of the native Christians. The possession of that extensive country was at last secured by the foundation of Kairwan, or Kairouan, in 674, and divided into the two provinces, *Magrab al Ausah*, and *Magrab al Aksa* (the near and distant Africa). Musa, the active governor or Wali of the Caliph Walid I., sent his general Tarik with cavalry, across the Straits, and Spain, in 711, fell an easy conquest to the Mohammedan arms. But forty-four years later, the successful Ommiyad rebellion in that country, excited the Wali of Kairouan, *Ibrahim-Ebn-Aglab*, to follow the example, and thus arose the kingdom of the Aglabids, who sustained their independence against the Caliphs of Bagdad, by mercenary armies of negroes and Berbers, until the year 908, when the last Aglabid was defeated by Obeidallah, a descendant of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima. This chief founded in Egypt the celebrated dynasty of the Fatimid Caliphs in Cairo.

Cities.—Tarabolos (Tripolis), on the great Syrtis, was taken by the Arabs in 642. Jakubi, near Cabes on the smaller Syrtis, where the total defeat of the Romans caused the loss

of Carthage, and all the flourishing Christian cities westward to Sebtah (Ceuta), and the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. CARTHAGE had resisted; it was taken by the Arabs in 697; retaken the same year by the Greeks, then lost again, and in 698 totally destroyed by the infuriated Moslems. Carthage never rose from its ashes, and the few ruins left on its desolated coast, prove that all the materials for building have been carried away for the erection of KAIROUAN, the new colony and capital of the Saracens in Africa. This city is situated in the interior of the ancient province of Byzacium, at a distance of one hundred miles south of Carthage, and thirty-six west of Hammamet, its harbor on the sea-shore. Kairouan was quickly peopled with Berbers and Moors, who flocked to the banners of the Caliph, and became ready converts to the Mohammedan faith; and it thus became the great emporium for Northern Africa, during the Middle Ages. BIZERTA, the ancient Hippo Zarytos, and BONA, Hippo Regius, were the last cities in this part of Africa which remained in the possession of the Greeks. In the west, Chulu, Cæsarea, and some maritime fortresses, offered a still longer resistance, but were all at last obliged to surrender.

C.—KINGDOM OF THE EDRISITES IN MEQUINES.

214. Edris-Ben-Edris, a descendant of Ali, fled from the snares of Haroun-ar-Raschid, and excited a rebellion in the western province, *Magrab-al-Aksa*, where the Mohammedan Moors and Berbers elected him king, in 788. His son built FAZ (FEZ), and MEQUINES (Morocco), the former of which became a flourishing city, and the latter gave its name to the young Mohammedan state. SEPTA or *Sebtah* (now Ceuta) was a strong fortress, which the Visigoths of Spain held in possession on the African coast of the Straits. It was so well defended, that it stopped all the efforts of the Arabs to cross the strait, until the treachery of Count Julian, as is well known, opened to the Arabs the passage for the destruction of the Gothic Empire.

D. — Emirate of Cordova.

215. Taric succeeded in landing on the promontory of Calpe with only five hundred horsemen, in 710. The boldness and success of his enterprise brought their reward in the name given afterwards to the promontory, Mount of Tarik, or Djebel-Taric (Gibraltar). The last Gothic king, Roderic, having gathered the entire host of the Visigoths, but without receiving any assistance from Europe, attacked the Arabs on the *Wady-al-Ete* (Guadalete), near Sherish (Xeres), where he fell, and the Goths suffered a total defeat in 711. The numerous Jews declared for the Arabs, who immediately were followed by myriads of Moors and Berbers from Africa. Every where defeated, the dispirited Visigoths fled to the Asturian mountains. The cities that surrendered were granted capitulation; those which defended themselves were levelled to the ground. Musa came himself, with 26,000 choice troops, and completed the conquest of Taric. The Wali Ejub made Cordova the residence of the Arabian government. The only Christian prince who made a stand was *Theodemir* of *Lorca*, on the coast of Murcia; he, however, was obliged to pay tribute. Thousands of Christians became Mohammedans; and it appeared as if the Moslem would now carry the Koran and the crescent all over Europe. The Arabian government was very simple: the provinces were governed by Walis; under these stood the Alkaldes. The Emir, or general governor, had a council, or *adsana* of counsellors—*mezewares*. Emir Okba introduced this system in 737. Judges (*Kadis*) were placed in every village, and their judicial activity was most severely controlled. The Wali, in the provinces, had an armed body called *Kaziefes*, or gendarmes. Schools and mosques were established; roads laid out; and commerce and agriculture soon began to flourish. Abd-er-Rahman, the fugitive Ommiyad, raised the banner of rebellion in 755. Seville received him

with joy; he gathered an army, defeated near Musara the Emir Jusuf, and achieved his independence in 759.

216. Division and Cities.—The Emirate of Cordova was divided into six provinces under military walis, Tholaithala (Toledo), Marida (Merida), Valencia, Saragostha (Zaragosta), Andalos (Andalusia), and Narbuna (Narbonne); twelve other walis, all with their viziers, or lieutenants, besides the kadis and mexewares, formed the *aduana*, somewhat similar to the *mallum* (79, 118) of the Goths and Franks. The progress of the Arabs under the active and intelligent Emirs of Cordova, was extraordinary; they crossed the Pyrenees, and added the beautiful province of Narbuna to their empire. The battle of Tours, with Charles the Hammer, at last put a permanent stop to their conquests in 732, and the Gothic chiefs in the Asturian mountains soon began to extend their dominion to the river Duero. All the plains along that river, then the general battle-field between Christians and Moslems, were called *Campi Gothici*, and being left incult, formed a dreary wilderness between the hostile nations.

Tholaithala (Toledo), on the Tagus, surrendered, like the other cities, to the victorious Arabs, and preserved its privileges as capital of the African Viceroy, until the time when Cordhoba (Cordova), on the Wady al Kebir (Guadalquiver), became the seat of the new Mussulman Caliphate. The *Balearic Islands* were likewise occupied by the Arabs, who from thence extended their piracies over all the coasts of Italy and France; nay, they even landed and built a castle at Fraxinetum, on the rugged coast between Nizza and Ventimiglia, at the base of the Maritime Alps, in 889. They massacred the inhabitants of the neighborhood, and built a castle upon the rocks commanding the entrance of the gulf. This was the origin of the formidable republic of Saracen pirates, who, from the bay of Fraxinetum, extended their incursions throughout Provence and Dauphiny; nay, the Saracens held possession of the passes of the Alps; they united with the Hungarians to ravage Helvetia and Valais, of which they remained masters

for several years. They then crossed the mountains, and invading the plain of Piedmont, they burnt Acqui and ravaged the banks of the Padus; and it was not until the year 975 that the Count of Provence at last succeeded in retaking Fraxinetum with the immense booty which the Saracens had hoarded up there.

Islam had arrived at its zenith; it was the time of the brilliant Mohammedan civilization of Spain (in Arabic, Andalos). The palm of the desert rose at the side of the products of the west. Spain became the most populous and industrious country in Europe. Cordova was the seat of arts and literature; seventy libraries and seventeen academies and colleges opened abundant sources of instruction; questions of philosophy, science, or poetry, were discussed in the literary societies. The large cities, Toledo, Merida, Seville, Zaragoza, Valencia, Elbira (Granada), vied with Cordova in wealth and splendor; four hundred cities of inferior rank were enriched by commerce; on the banks of the Guadalquiver alone were scattered twelve hundred hamlets, embowered in vineyards and olive-groves.

V. INDEPENDENT CHRISTIAN STATES IN SPAIN ABOUT A. D. 800.

217. Kingdom of Gothia or *Oviedo*.—The Saracens and their allies, the Moors, were still strangers on the soil of Spain. After the death of King Roderic and the defeat of the Visigoths at Xeres, the wrecks of that nation who disdained submission to the victorious Moslems, fled to the mountains of Asturia; these were chiefly the nobles and clergy. From the Pyrenees, an extensive chain of high and rugged mountains (the *Mons Vindius* of the ancients) stretches westward to *Cape Finisterre*, the extreme headland of Gallicia. *Auseba*, one of those towering pinnacles of difficult access, afforded refuge to the fleeing bands of some thousand Goths who sought hid-

ing-places in the caverns of our Lady of Cabadonga, where they elected Pelayo, a distinguished warrior, as their chieftain, A. D. 718. The early traditions about the origin of the modern Spanish dynasties are not free from the exaggerations of national vanity; yet Asturia enjoys, as the ancient asylum of the noble Goths, certain liberties which had no other origin than the achievements of her sons; and the hamlet *Gegio* (Gijon), on the coast, scarcely observed by the Moslem enemy, became the cradle of a lasting monarchy, which grew to manhood among the mountains. There, protected by the high range of Auseba, the Christians began the long and arduous struggle, which, in spite of many reverses, at last, after the vicissitudes of seven centuries, was crowned with complete success, the reconquest of the magnificent peninsula, and the expulsion of the infidels. The Visigoth nation had become degenerated under the mild climate of Spain, yet the awful political calamities which had befallen them now steeled their courage and exalted their virtue; and soon they broke forth from their strongholds. Alfonso I. reconquered Gallicia in 750, and Troila made himself master of Oviedo in 759. The expeditions of Charlemagne beyond the Pyrenees, and the rebellions of the Saracenic walis or governors on the Ebro, encouraged the Goths, who then, toward the year 850, after the brilliant victory over the Arabs at Logroño, extended their dominion south of the mountains.

Such was the condition of the world in the era of Charlemagne

CHAPTER VI.

EUROPE.

WESTERN ASIA AND NORTHERN AFRICA; THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AT THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR OTHO THE GREAT, A. D. 973.[57]

218. General Division.—During the period from the coronation of Charlemagne, A. D. 800, to the death of Otho the Great toward the close of the tenth century, great changes had taken place in the institutions, the manners, and the political relations of the states and nations in the old world. The mighty empires of Charlemagne and of Haroun-ar-Raschid had been shivered to fragments; and we find in the year 973, in Europe, no less than nineteen independent and more or less powerful states; while the Mohammedan Empire of the Caliphs had then become divided among a greater number of sectarian or heretical dynasties and rebellious Mohammedan tribes, than we can find space to describe. Of the nineteen states in Europe, seven were situated in the north. They were—I., the kingdoms in *Ireland;* II., the kingdom of *Scotland;* III., that of the *Anglo-Saxons* in *England;* IV., that of *Denmark;* V., that of *Norway;* VI., that of *Sweden;* and VII., the Grand-Duchy of *Russia.* Five in central Europe: VIII., the kingdom of *France;* IX., that of *Burgundy;* X., the *Romano-Germanic* Empire; XI., the kingdom of *Hungaria;* and XII., the Chanate of the *Petcheneges.* Seven in the south of Europe: XIII. the kingdom of *Leon;* XIV., the county of *Castile;* XV., the kingdom of *Navarra;* XVI. the caliphate of *Cordova;* XVII., the emirate of *Sicily* and the smaller islands; XVIII., the kingdom of *Croatia;* and XIX., the *Byzantine* or eastern Roman empire.

[57] See Map No. 4.

This being the period during which France and Germany became split into so many almost independent feudal seigniories, we have thought it desirable to go into some detail by giving the Latin names of the French counties, &c., then in use, and their modern appellation; and by delineating the different nationalities in the duchies of Germany; nor do we hesitate to present the student with the names of the later provinces (*themes*) of the Eastern Empire, in the Byzantine Greek language, because an accurate description of the East, and some etymological hints on the provincial names, may perhaps tend the better to explain the annexed map of the tenth century, and render its study more interesting.

§ I. NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. Kingdoms in Ireland.

219. Inhabitants and Remarkable Cities.—Toward the close of the tenth century we still find Ireland divided into the four petty kingdoms of Ultonia (Ulster), Connacia (Connaught), Momonia (Munster), and Lagenia (Leinster), which recognized the supremacy of the sovereign King of Midia (Meath). The civil feuds among the more powerful *Canfinnies* (100) still continued, and the savage manners of the Irish clans stood in the most singular contrast to the learning and piety of the monks in the numerous convents and monasteries which contributed so much to the propagation of Christianity in the north. The landed property belonged in the mass to the clans, and the Canfinny was the liege-lord; the succession was elective, and never settled without bloodshed. Several clans, such as the *O'Connors* and *O'Neals*, had already a preponderating influence. The people were poor and barbarous, and agriculture was still neglected. The Danes and Norwegians, from their piratical settlements on the Hebrides and Orkney islands in the seventh century, began already their

devastating descents upon the eastern coast of Ireland. Nay, they founded several independent states on the southern coast, with WATERFORD and DUESEFORD (Wexford), as their strongholds. On the west they occupied LUIMNICH (Limerick), and we read in Snorro Sturleson, the Icelandic historian, the exploits of Thorgils and Frode, the sons of King Harald, the fairhaired of Norway, who, with their fleets, took possession of DYFLIN (Dublin), where Thorgils for long years ruled as king, until he fell in battle against the Irish.[58] TEAMOR or *Tamora*, in the kingdom of Meath, was the principal city of the Irish, where the clans met in their confederate diets. ARMAGH (100) continued to be the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. Its numerous monasteries were celebrated for their learning and austere discipline. Hundreds of zealous monks accompanied the Norwegian Prince Olaf Tryggveson in his expedition to Norway in 995, where they, under many dangers and privations, laid the foundation of a higher civilization, by the first introduction of Christianity in Nidaros (Throndhjem). CORCAGIA, *Chuirke* (Cork), in Munster, was already an important commercial city.

II. KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND

220. EXTENT AND PRINCIPAL CITIES.—The early history of Scotland is enveloped in total darkness: it would have been interesting to know the historic facts connected with the union of two so entirely different nationalities as those of the Gaelic or Celtic Scots, and the Scandinavian or Gothic Picts (101), under the crown of King Kenneth II.,[59] in 843, which is supposed to

[58] See the saga of Harald Haarfager, chap. xxxv., in Samuel Laing's beautiful translation of the *Heims Kringla* or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway. London, 1844. Vol. I., page 304.

[59] From the register of Saint Andrew's we learn that the Scottish Kings, from Kenneth II. down to Edgar, 1098, were buried in Hyona or I-colm-kill (101). After that period Dunfermline was the place of royal sepulture.

have given birth to the more modern kingdom of Scotland. Yet the truth is, that the light of history begins much later to dawn on the misty Highlands of Scotland. Danes were settled on the northeastern part of the island called *Caithness*. King Indulf vanquished them at *Cullen*, but could not make them quit the island. *Edinburgh* became early the capital; *Scone* on the northwest, where the great battle took place, in consequence of which King Kenneth was enabled to unite the two realms of the Picts and Scots. His castle was afterwards the residence of the Scottish Kings, several of whom were crowned there.

III.—Kingdom of England.

221. Extent, Condition, and Remarkable Cities.—King Egbert of West-Sex had in A. D. 828 subdued the other states of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy (104). The *stool-kings* of the old dynasties, sprung from Odin, were extinct, and England had obtained a unity and internal tranquillity which was essentially favorable to the moral cultivation of the Anglo-Saxon nation, and the development of their national institutions. The Britons in North Wales were vanquished, the island of Mona (Anglesea) conquered, and only the kings of Cumberland and Strathclyde (103) maintained their independence until about 950, when they were replaced by dependent counts. King Æthelstan (924–941) subjected the princes of Wales to a tribute of cattle, which Edgar (959–975), after a successful invasion of North Wales, changed into the yearly delivery of three hundred heads of wolves. This beneficial exaction caused the speedy destruction of these beasts throughout the island. Edgar armed war-ships, and defeating the Danes in Ireland, he took Dublin, the first acquisition of the Anglo-Saxon kings beyond their own territory. Thus the whole southern portion of the island, northward to the Tweed and Cumberland, belonged to the English crown. The last distinction between the old Saxon Seven States disappears entirely under

Ælfred (871–901), and England is forthwith divided into *shires* and *hundreds* governed by *earls* and *earldormen*. The Frank pledge—*frithboth*—gave a mutual security to the communities, and the ancient Roman military roads an easy communication between the different parts of the state. These remarkable high roads were, 1, the *Ermings Stræde*, from Dover and Canterbury, running north through Stamford to Lincoln and Winteringham on the Humber; 2, the *Foss-Wæg* (ditch-way), running southwest from Lincoln by Cirencester to Exeter in Cornwall; and 3, the celebrated *Wætlinga Stræde*, running northwest from London through Tamworth to Shrewsbury and Offa's dike, at the base of the hills of Wales. The latter (Watling-street) was the boundary between the Danes and English, in the treaty between Ælfred and Guthrum the Dane, in 890, according to which Northumberland and East Anglia were ceded to the Scandinavian invaders.

The piracies of the Northmen had begun already, in the time of King Egbert, to become troublesome to the inhabitants on the coasts; soon they took the character of regular maritime expeditions of the daring sea-kings of Scandinavia, who, in spite of the victories of the glorious Ælfred in 897, succeeded in forming independent states on the eastern coast, and a century later (1016), to bring the whole island under the sway of King Knud (Canute) of Denmark. LUNDENWYC, London, on the Thames, the capital of the kingdom, was already a populous, commercial, and wealthy city, which had been enlarged and embellished by Ælfred; the old St. Paul's Church was built in 604, on the first introduction of Christianity among the Saxons by St. Austin, and numerous convents and monasteries in every part of the city gave proof of the rapid change its mild doctrines had produced in the ideas and habits of that wild and heathen nation (104). CANTWARABURH (Canterbury) was the great metropolis of the Anglican Church, and its Archbishops knew full well to extend their influence and their privileges among the devout Edgars and Æthelreds. OXNAFORD (Oxford) was already celebrated as the seat of

learning. EOFORWYK (York) was the capital of Northumberland, the centre of the Danish power. BRUNANBURH, near Lincoln, where the terrible battle was fought in which Æthelstan, in 938, totally defeated the Northumbrian Dane Anlaf (Olaf), and his Scottish auxiliaries. CRULAND (Croyland), the celebrated monastery in Mercia, which the savage Danes plundered and burnt in 870, after the defeat of Osgood of Lincoln.[60]

ÆTHLINGA-EIG (Athelney), the Isle of Princes, the fortress in Somersetshire, near Taunton, where Ælfred the Great hid himself in the forest and the surrounding swamps, and prepared for his attack on the Danes.[61] ETHANDUN (now Eddington near Westbury), where Ælfred so brilliantly defeated the Danes, baptized their sea-king Guthrum, and restored the independence of England in 878. The SCILLY Islands, by the ancients called *Cassiterides* or *Sylinæ Insulæ*, were during this period brought under the dominion of the English kings, and what is more important, it was in this quiet retreat of monastic seclusion that the Norwegian sea-king Olaf Tryggveson, known in the history of England by the name of Anlaf, received baptism in 993, and from thence introduced Christianity into Norway and Iceland, by means of the zealous English missionaries whom he brought along with him.

The island of MAN—*Monarina*, *Monapia Insula*—in the Irish Channel, had become the seat of another Norwegian sea-king, who united the HEBRIDES on the west coast of Scotland, and the ORKNEY ISLANDS—*Orcades Insulæ*—into a powerful kingdom, so conveniently situated as naval stations for the daring Norwegian Vi-kings, who thence extended their

[60] See the detailed and characteristic account of these events in Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I., page 509 *et seq.*

[61] This interesting spot at the confluence of the Parret river with the Thone, is exactly known, not only from tradition, but from a golden enamelled ornament found there, exhibiting the name of Ælfred by an inscription: "*Ælfred het meh gewircan*"—Alfred ordered me to be wrought.

piratical invasions over all the neighboring coasts of Ireland and Great Britain.

IV.—Kingdom of Denmark.

222. Extent, Conversion, and Consolidation.——During the 9th century the north of Europe began to pass from the state of fermentation and disorder, which had prevailed in all its countries, into a more peaceable and orderly condition. It was the beneficial influence of Christianity which mainly contributed to produce this great revolution. The Christian religion became the point of union that, like the electric spark, roused the nations of the north from their long sleep of ignorance. The first authentic information we obtain from Denmark is that of the pious and devoted Ansgar, or Ansgarius, the Apostle of Scandinavia, who in A. D. 826 accompanied the first Christian Dane, Harald Klak, the under-king of South Jutland—then an exile at the court of Louis-le-Debonnair—back to Denmark, and built the church at *Schleswig*. Ansgar and his monks visited King Biörn in Sweden, where, with the support of a distinguished Swede, Hergier, they built the first Christian church on the banks of the *Mælarn* (190). From his see in Schleswig Ansgar now strengthened his missionary army with enthusiastic brothers from Germany and France, and preaching publicly in Danish, he gathered multitudes around him, and secured his spiritual conquest by the establishment of the Archbishopric in *Hamburg* in 830. Attacked by a fleet of savage Vi-kings in 845, he retired to *Bremen*, where he met a deputation of Jutes, who conducted him safely to *Ribe* (Ripen), on the west coast of Jutland. There he built and consecrated the cathedral church in 858, and having gloriously fulfilled his mission of laying a solid foundation for the civilization of the north, he died in Bremen in 865, revered by all, and later canonized by the Pope as the great Apostle of Denmark. A few years later King Gorm the Old (Gorm den Gamle) of the Danish Islands,

succeeded in subduing the petty states of Jutland, and secured the southern frontiers of his united kingdom by extension of the Dannevirke (work of the Danes) from the bay of Schleswig westward to the North-Eider, the boundary of the Carlovingian empire. The integral parts of Denmark then consisted of 1, JUTLAND, divided by the *Kongeaa* (king's river) into NORTH JUTLAND (Reit Gothland) and SOUTH JUTLAND (Schleswig), comprising on the east the ancient ANGLEN, the homestead of the Angles in Britain, and on the west NORTH FRIESLAND, inhabited by the Frisian fishermen; 2, the DANISH ISLANDS (Ey Gothland); 3, SKAANE (Scandia, Skaney) in southern Sweden, and divided into the three ancient provinces, *Halland*, northwest on the Kattegat; *Blekinga-ey*, northeast, on the *Waræger-Soe*, East Sea, or Baltic; and *Skaane Proper*, the southern point of the great Scandinavian Peninsula. All the provinces were divided into *Sysler* (shires), and *Herreder* (hundreds), governed by the *Jarls* (earls), who, with the *Bönder* (freemen), met the king at the *Tinge* (national diet), where public affairs were transacted, and the kings and chiefs elected by acclamation of the people. King Gorm felt himself strong enough to cross the Eider and invade *Nordalbingia* (Holstein), then a province of the duchy of Saxony. The Danes were defeated, and Henry I. the Fowler, established the *March* or margraviate of Schleswig, between the Eider and the Schley—the *limes Danicus*, as it is called by the chroniclers, which for nearly a century remained the battleground of the hostile Danish and Saxon borderers. Otho the Great crossed the Dannevirke in 970, overran all Jutland, and forced King Harald Bluetooth, the son of Gorm, to be baptized, and grant the monks the liberty to convert his subjects throughout the kingdom.

CITIES AND HISTORICAL PLACES.—HADDEBY (*Slias-wyk*), Schleswig, with the first Episcopal church ranging under the see of Hamburg. SILBERSTED, north of Schleswig, where king Bluetooth was defeated by Otho in a great battle, and baptized in the brook, which, after these great events, was

called Hellig-bæk, or Holy Brook.[62] RIPA (Ribe), VIBURGUM (Viborg), AROSIA (Aarhuus), and BURGLANUM (Borgland), became later episcopal sees of the province of Lund. JELLINGE, with the barrows of king Gorm, and his Christian queen, Thyra Danebod. The magnificent sepulchral room of the queen has lately been excavated, and highly interesting antiquities, shrines, silver goblets, and golden figures of birds found.[63]

OTTEN SUND (Sound of Otho), a bay on the Liimfjord, in Northern Jutland, where the Emperor Otho, in the pursuit of the retiring Danes, found himself stopped by the frith, and in his rage at not being able to cross over, launched his spear into the water, and returned to Germany. ODENSE, in the island of Fyen (Odins-ey), a thriving city, with an episcopal see. ROE'S KILDE, on the island of Sjölund (Sjælland, Sealand, *Herthæ Insula*), the more modern capital of Denmark, from the times of king Harald, is situated at a short distance from the heathen *Leire*, and the forest of Hertha, with the splendid cathedral church, and the Episcopal see for Sealand. BURGUNDARHOLM (Bornholm), a fertile island south of Skaane, which during the middle ages became an important emporium of eastern commerce. In a bog on this island was found no less than half a bushel of *Cufic* or Arabian coins (207), with the inscriptions of the Caliphs of Bagdad, from A. D. 698 to 1010, which were current in the countries through which the Northmen had to pass on their way to Constantinople. LUND, in

[62] It was on the banks of Hellig-bæk, that the Danes, in 1850 gained the battle of Idsted against the rebellious Holsteiners.

[63] The *Runic* inscriptions from these mounds are among the oldest and most important documents of Danish history. The smaller sepulchral stone (Bautasteen), has the following:—*King Gorm made this hill after his wife, Thyre Danmarksbod.* The larger Jelling stone has been erected by the son and successor, Harald Bluetooth, to the memory of his parents:—*King Harald raised these hills after his father Gorm and his mother Thyre. This Harold is he who won all Denmark, and Norway, and Christendom;* that is, became a Christian, together with his people.

Skaane, became in 1090 the archiepiscopal see for the *Provincia Lundensis*, embracing all Denmark and Esthland.

V. Kingdom of Norway.

223. Extent, Division, and Historical Sites.—The Icelandic Sagas have thrown a wonderful light on the early history of Norway, and the Norwegian Bonde (free landowner), can, with the admirable book of Snorro Sturleson before him, at the fireside, during the long winter evenings, follow up the events of his forefathers in every valley, on every mountain, where still so many rough monuments of the olden times testify to the historical veracity of the poetical traditions of the Skjalds.[64] The great Scandinavian peninsula is by a high mountain range, the *Kjölen*, divided into two distinct countries, Swerge (*Sweden*), and Norge (*Norway*). The

[64] See the preface of Snorro himself, to his "Sagas of the Norse Kings." "In this book," he says, "I have had old traditions written down, as I have heard them told by intelligent people, concerning chiefs who have held dominion in the northern countries, and who spoke the Danish tongue—*Danske Tunge*—and also concerning some of their family branches, according to what has been told me. Some of these accounts are found in the genealogical tables of our forefathers, while the rest are taken from old songs, which at the time were recited for the pleasure of the chiefs at their banquets. There were *Skjalds* (bards) in the court of Harald the Fair-haired (A. D. 863–931), whose poems the people know by heart even at the present day (Snorro wrote this about the year 1220), together with all the songs about the kings who have ruled in Norway since his time. We rest the foundations of our history principally upon the songs which were sung in the presence of the chieftains themselves, or of their sons, and we confidently adopt as truth and history all the accounts we find in these poetical memorials of their feats and battles. For although it be the custom with the bard to praise the chief before whom he strings the harp, yet no one would *dare* to relate to a chief deeds of glory which all the warriors present, and the chief himself, would know to be nothing but flirtation and untruth; because that would be mockery and scorn, instead of admiration and praise."—*Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, by Sam. Laing.* Vol. i. pp. 211–213.

centre of both countries is very rugged and mountainous, but in Sweden the mountains slope off southward, to the immense lakes of *Wenern* and *Wettern*, and the fertile plains of Skaane; while on the contrary, in Norway, the slope lies north, terminating with the precipitous promontory of North Cape. These upper highlands are scantily inhabited by the nomadic tribes of Finns and Laplanders, who, by the warlike Germanic invaders, were driven northward at the time of the first occupation of Scandinavia by the Goths. (86.) Though Norway is more mountainous than Sweden, and all its coasts are high—sometimes more than a thousand feet of fearful precipices, overhanging the deep friths, the islands and the sea, yet its climate is, on account of the neighborhood of the ocean, milder than that of the lower coasts of Sweden, whose winter is extremely cold and dreary; because that whole region is exposed to the eastern storms, sweeping over the snow plains of Northern Siberia and Russia. Sweden has but scanty harvests of grain; but it abounds in iron, copper, and other minerals. Norway lives almost entirely on its fisheries, game, and commerce. The extreme length of that wild territory, from the southern promontory of Sweden to North Cape, is upward of 1100 miles; its breadth from Bergen, in Western Norway, to Stockholm on the east, is 450 miles; its superficial dimensions are three hundred thousand square miles, of which thirty thousand are covered by lakes and swamps; it is therefore more thinly inhabited than any country in Europe, having only five millions of souls, one million and a half of which are *Nordmænd*, or Norse. The most singular features in the scenery of Norway are the *fjords*, or friths, deep valleys filled by the sea, which often run into the interior for several hundred miles. How these immensely deep rifts, sometimes not a gunshot in breadth, have been furrowed out of the solid primary rock, is still a problem. It could not be from the action of the sea, for they extend into various branches, starting off in directions which never were exposed to the impulse of the ocean; and we can

therefore only explain this phenomenon by the general elevation of the land by volcanic upheavings, as we find it in Iceland. In the depth of these land-locked bays, shut in by rocks, woods, and the deep and glassy waters of the distant ocean, lived the *Viking* of old—lives now the happy and peaceful farmer or fisherman, with his small and neat dwelling leaning against the rocks, a green meadow on the banks for his cows and goats, and his little skiff at anchor before his door; where he in sight of his chimney smoke, and the rocky forest around, catches the finest sea-fish, the delight of distant Italy and Greece. Can we wonder, then, that such localities—the deep fjords, and the hundreds of high, rocky islands at their mouths, should have invited the enterprising Norsemen of old, to the exciting and lucrative life of the pirate.[64] The natural division of Norway was into regions lying north, west, and south of the mountains; and these into thirty-four or thirty-five *Fylker*, or districts, having petty kings, who were continually fighting with one another, until Halfdan Swarte (the Black), the king of Westfold, about the year 850, began to extend his sway in the south and west. His son, the celebrated Harald Haarfager (the fair-haired), crossed the Dovre-Fjeld, and subdued with the sword all the small sea kings, and *stool* kings of the north and west, during his long reign from 863 to 931.

Many of the vanquished chiefs fled to Iceland, which had just been discovered at that period; others crossed the Kjölen and settled in Hjemteland and Heriedalen, on the frontiers of Sweden. King Harald reduced the petty kings to the position of mere governors or judges called *Jarls*, somewhat similar to the Counts of Charlemagne. They never afterwards succeeded in throwing off their allegiance, nor did they ever obtain any feudal powers. In Norway the full strength of the nation rested on the *Odels Bonde*, that is, the free landholder or husbandman, who was the proprietor of the land—held not

[64] See the fine description of the Norwegian coasts in Sam. Laing's Norway. London, 1836.

from the king nor from any feudal superior.[65] The equal division of property among the children, a rule extending to the crown itself, prevented the accumulation of power and lands in individuals. Norway had no fortresses save her snow-capped mountains, no feudal castles nor strongholds for arrogant nobles; the farm-house of the *Bonde*, like the manor of the Jarl, was built of wood, much resembling the picturesque cottages of Switzerland. The King with his *Hird* or court, the Jarls and the Bönder, appeared at the *Ting* or general assembly, where they took part in the discussion of state affairs. Another class were the *Trælle*, thralls or domestic slaves, mostly prisoners captured by the Vikings at sea on piratical cruises; they were private property, but generally so well treated, that Sigurd Jarl, the high-priest of Thor, for instance, enabled his Trælle to purchase their freedom by giving them the right of fishing in the fjords on his estates, or seated them as farmers on his uncleared lands. Hakon the Good, the son of Harald Fairhair, attempted to introduce Christianity, but he found the Norse too stubborn and devoted to their old heathen gods and festivals; and it was not until the energetic rule of King Olaf Tryggveson in 997–1000, and that of the unhappy Saint Olaf, who perished in the battle of Stiklestad in 1030, that the temples of Odin and Thor were at last destroyed, and the Cross of Christ arose at Nidaros (Trondhjem), in the north.

Nordenfjelds, north of the mountains, we have: HALOGALAND on the frontiers of Finnmaken; NAUMDAL and THROND or *Trondhjem* (Drontheim), with the capital NIDAROS on a deep frith. Here the traveller admires the celebrated cathedral built 1033, a huge structure in the ancient Saxon style, with arches, cloisters, and roughly carved ornaments, and the sepulchral vaults of the Norwegian kings. The shrine of Saint Olaf was a place of pilgrimage for the pious Catholics from every part of Europe. *Hlade* (the grange), the residence of Harald and his

[65] See above note 37, page 31. Laing's beautiful preliminary dissertation on Snorro, Chap. III.

successors. *Moere* where the public assemblies were held, and where we still behold the mounds and foundations of heathen temples. *Stiklestad*, north of Nidaros, the bloody battle-field where the heathen Norse defeated and slew King Olaf the Saint, in 1030. *Rimol*, farther inland, the country-seat of Thora, where Hakon Jarl was stabbed by his serf Karker in 997. West of Throndlay NORD and SOUTH MOERE and NAUMDAL, on the shores of the ocean. *Westenfjelds* (west of Mount Dovre), FJORD, SOGN, HORDALAND, with the rich commercial city of BJORGWINN (Bergen), afterwards one of the seventy confederated towns of the Hansa. ROGALAND, where, in the deep bay, *Hafursfjord*, Hakon Jarl, in a most tremendous naval battle, defeated the daring *Joms-Vikings* or pirates, from Jomsborg, in 996. *Söndenfjelds* (south of the mountains), AGDE, on the southern coast opposite to Jutland. TELLEMARKEN, HALLINGADAL, VESTFOLD, and VIKEN on the frontiers of Sweden. OPSLO (now Christiania), the later capital of Norway. *Kongshelle*, frontier fortress, the scene of many-hard-fought battles with the Swedes. In the uplands, GULDBRANDSDAL, EISTRIDDAL, ROMERIGE, HEDEMARKEN, and other valleys. Norway had its own archiepiscopal see in Nidaros. Its jurisdiction—*Provincia Nidarosiensis*—extended to Iceland, Greenland, the Shetland Islands, the Orkneys, Färœer, and Hebrides.

224. DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS.—Nor are the conquests of the Norwegians, during this brilliant period of their history, less interesting than the events in the mother country herself.

HIALTELAND (the Shetland Islands), ORKNÖYJAR (the Seal Islands), *Orcades*, Orkneys, SYDER ŒER (Hebrides or Western Islands), were early occupied by the Northmen, who, in the reign of King Harald Fairhair, formed a kingdom on the island of MAN. Every group of islands had its bishop as suffragans of the province of Nidaros. The FAER-ŒER or Sheep Islands, so called on account of the numerous flocks that make the principal resource of the islanders, were discovered in 861.

ICELAND, or *Sneeland* (snow country), as it was called by the Dane Gardar, who discovered it in 863. Its colonization

began in 875 by the Norwegian Ingolf. GREENLAND was discovered nearly at the same time, though it was not colonized until one century later in 973–85, by Erik the Red, who undertook an expedition from Iceland to the western seas. A year later (986), Biarne Herulfson sailed south from Greenland, and found the east coast of AMERICA, where Leif Ericson, Thorwald Ericson, and Thorfinn continued their discoveries, and called the fertile woodlands VIINLAND, and the savage inhabitants *skrœllinger* or wretches. Some colonies were established on the coasts of Rhode Island and Massachusetts; but they did not prosper, and appear to have been abandoned in the thirteenth century.[66] Iceland was soon colonized by dissatisfied Norsemen, who fled from the sword of Harald Haarfager; they established a republican government, and were, in the year 1000, converted to Christianity.

VI. KINGDOM OF SWEDEN

225. EXTENT, DIVISIONS, AND REMARKABE CITIES.—The early history of Sweden is more obscure and far less interesting than that of Denmark or Norway; nor do the middle ages of Sweden present us with so rich a variety of events, as do the expeditions and conquests of the Danish and Norwegian sea-kings, and the later participation of the Danes and Norse in the crusades, and their multifarious relations with the south. Sweden has no Snorro, no Saxo. But, on the contrary, Sweden has a modern history from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth. more brilliant than that of any other nation during the same period. There were continual wars between the different tribes of Goths and Swedes and between the reigning dynasties. The country was mountainous, covered with forests; the inhabitants were poor. The Norwegians and Danes by possessing the west-

[66] See for farther details the numerous works published by the Society of Northern Antiquaries in Copenhagen, and by several distinguished literary gentlemen in this country.

ern coast-land along the Baltic, Viken, Halland and Skaane, excluded the Swedes in a manner from the participation of the western expeditions of their neighbors. Yet the Swedes had their own crusades nearer at home; from early times they fought against the Laplanders of *Helsingeland*, in the north, and against the Finnish or Chudish tribes in *Quainland*, and *Kyriala-land* on the east. These obscure conquests, and the Swedish settlements on the coast of Finnland, form the best part of their annals; the rest is bloodshed and horrors at home. The Swedes in Swithiod north of the lakes, and the Goths in the more southern Gothland, though divided by their ruling dynasties, met for the same temple service at the great sanctuary of Odin at Upsala; and toward the middle of the ninth century, Eric Edmundson contrived to unite the warring tribes, and to rule Sweden as *Enekunge* or sole king, with his Jarls and Drots. Christianity made but little progress among so wild and superstitious a people, who still clung to Odin and Vallhalla, and it was not until 1157 that Saint Eric, in his zeal, carried the cross to Finnland among the Quains. The power of the Swedish Kings was very circumscribed by the general diets of the free proprietors, the Bönder, and by the pride of the Jarls, who, like the Dukes and Counts in Germany and France, arrogated a certain degree of independence to themselves; nay, very early we find in Sweden the Jarl of the Realm—*Riks-Jarl*—in similar relations to the king as the *mayor domus* in the kingdom of the Franks. The family of the *Folkunger* having first obtained this hereditary dignity, they soon aspired to the crown itself in 1250.

Suithiod consisted of the provinces Dalarne on the north-east, the southern part of Helsingaland as far north as the river *Angermanna Elv;* Upland, with the Aalands islands, on the east; Vermeland, by the *Eda-forest* separated from Norway; West-manna-land, Sodermanna-land, and Nerike around the deep frith *Mælarn;* the mining district was called Jernbæra-land (Iron-producing-land).

Gothland, south of the large lakes of *Wener* and *Wetter*,

was divided into west and east Gothland; and SMAALAND, bordering south on the Danish possessions in Skaane. GOTHLAND and EGLAND (Oeland) lay off the coast. SIGTUNA, on the Mælarn, with its heathen rock-altars and temples, stood already in ruins. UPSALA, the later capital of the Swedish Kings, north of Sigtuna, became the archiepiscopal see of the ecclesiastical province of Upsala—*Provincia Upsaliensis*—which embraced all Sweden and Finnland as far as the river Newa in the Kyriala Bottn or Finnish Gulf. BJÖRKÖ (Birka), west of Sigtuna, on the Mælarn, whither the kings had removed their residence during the tenth century, and remained until Jarl Birker, about the middle of the thirteenth century, built STOCKSUND on the *Stockholm*, an island strongly fortified with walls and towers, to protect the offing of the Mælarn against the Vikings. From this small beginning rose afterward the splendid city of Stockholm.

VII. GRAND DUCHY OF RUSSIA.

226. ORIGIN, EXTENT, DIVISIONS, AND REMARKABLE CITIES.—Among the many Sclavonian tribes who were driven northward from the Black Sea on the advance of the Chazars (91, 193), were the Russniaks, Ross, or Russians,[67] who penetrated the Sarmatian forests, and subdued and expelled the Finnish tribes of the Mordwens and Muromens on the upper Volga; there they settled and founded the great and flourishing cities of Novgorod on the lake of Ilmen, and Kiew on the Dnieper. To the southward they waged continual war with the Chazars, and on the Baltic they met the Northmen, who, as WARŒGS or *Väringers* (adventurous warriors), infested the coasts with their piracies. Owing to the quarrels among their own chiefs, which gave the Russians so much trouble, they en-

[67] The Russians appear for the first time in the Byzantine historians of the ninth century, under the undeclinable name of Ρῶς, and they have then already their characteristic features the white skin, the red hair, and the green cat eye.

tered into an alliance with the more intelligent strangers, and thus it happened that the Danes in A. D. 852 laid the foundation of the immense Russian Empire, where the descendants of the dynasty of Ruric held the sway for more than seven hundred years. An adventurous band of Danish Vikings, commanded by *Ruric* the Jute, his brothers *Sineus* and *Truvor*, and the young prince *Gorm* of Denmark, landed on the Finnic Gulf, near the lake of Ilmen. These chiefs, at the head of the *Russniaks*, soon extended their conquests among the Slavic tribes; they occupied the flourishing city of Novgorod, and advancing boldly into the heart of the country, formed a large empire between the river Düna on the west and the Volga on the east, and fixed their residence at Kiew on the Dnieper. Pressed, however, by the numerous tribes of Sclavonians around, and by the Chazars from the south, the stout Danes were obliged to defend themselves sword in hand behind their fortresses, until new bands of their roving countrymen pouring in, Ruric and his brothers soon recovered their conquests, and established themselves permanently in A. D. 562 in Russia. As long as Ruric and his descendants were considered aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Northmen. They distributed estates and subjects among their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers by fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic islands. But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deeper and more permanent root in the soil, they mingled with the native Sarmatians, Russ and Russians, in blood, habits, and language; and the first Wladimir, who was baptized by the persuasion of his fair Queen, Olga, in 980, and introduced the Greek Church service into Russia, disbanded his Danish body-guard.[68] But instead of returning to the north, the Danes, always fond of southern scenes and impressions, pushed on to Constantinople, where a great number of their countrymen had already taken

[68] It is a highly interesting fact that the German Chronicler, Ditmar of Merceburg, so late as 1018, says: "that Kiew in Russia was then still guarded by the strength of the Danish arms."

military service among the Greeks. The Byzantine Emperors, surrounded by intrigues and treachery, were glad to enlist several thousands of brave and sober Northmen. They received high pay; they wore their bear-skin mantles over their glittering armor; and the astonished Greeks hearing their name *Væringer*, pronounced it: *Varanghi*—Βαράγγοι. With their heavy broadsword at their side, and the double-edged battle-axe on their shoulder, they attended the Emperor to the Santa Sophia, the Senate, the Hippodrome, or the battle-field. He slept and feasted under the guard of his Danish Varanghi; and the keys of the palace and imperial treasury, of the towers and gates of Constantinople, were held by the firm and faithful hand of the Scandinavian prince who commanded that chosen body. They continued to speak their own language, and, on days of great festivals, they offered their congratulations and assurances of loyalty to the Emperor in the Danish tongue.

The Scandinavian elements in the government of the early Russian states, and the Greek service in their Church, are important facts which gave their peculiar character to the Russian people. The most intimate relations between the northern kings and the Russian grand-dukes continued for centuries. Young Danish or Norwegian princes were educated at the court in *Gardarike* (Russia), and the northern pilgrims and warriors passed mostly through that friendly land on their route to the Mediterranean and the Holy Land. Under their warlike chiefs the Russians reached the shores of the Black Sea so early as 865. They armed expeditions against Constantinople herself in 904 and 941, and though they were defeated and driven back, they profited by these visits. They returned more civilized; Greek churches and monasteries were built in every part of the country; the Russian clergy obeyed the Patriarch of Constantinople, and thus the civilization which both church and commerce introduced into Russia had an oriental character. Many institutions, however, were

still Norman; the Russian state officers were called *gosti* Wladimir admitted the nobles—*Boyars*—to his council, and the oppressive despotism which was introduced in later centuries, after the Mongol invasion, had not yet degraded and enslaved the frank and jovial character of the *ancient* Russians. At the time of the death of Otho the Great, 973, the great principality of Russia extended from the Lake of Ladoga, south toward the waterfalls of the Dnieper, the lower Don, and the Black Sea. The Grand Duke Swärtoslav advanced victoriously to the foot of Mount Caucasus in 955–972, where he destroyed the empire of the Chazars, and subdued the *Yassi* and *Kasachi*, nomadic nations of Turkish origin, on the steppes of the Kuban. The Russians even conquered and occupied the city and principality of TMUTARAKAN—Motercha—on the *Taurian Bosporus* (as indicated in the map), and entered into direct relations to the Greeks in the Crimea. Only some few relics of the defeated Chazars had saved themselves in the northeastern portion of that peninsula, and others had crossed the Volga, retreating eastward. The Finnic nations on the northeastern frontier were likewise expelled into the dreary plains of BIARMELAND—Permia—on the shores of the *Gandawyk*—the White Sea—or forced to recognize the Russian rule. A similar fate awaited the LETTIC and LITHUANIAN races on the Baltic, and thus had that active people, in the space of one century (from 862 to 973), already formed the largest empire in Europe. NOVGOROD—*Nemograd* (New-town)—on the northern bank of the Lake Ilmen, the first capital of Russia, was already a thriving commercial town. KIEW, south on the right bank of the Dnieper, as the second capital of the grand dukes of Russia, became adorned with Byzantine churches and convents, and showed signs of its future greatness by its crowded population, and active commerce on the Black Sea and Constantinople. POLOTZK, on the Düna, was the capital of the tributary Slavic race of the *Polotzchani*. ZASLAV (now in ruins near Wileika), on the Niemen, was the principal city of the *Slovensi*.—SMOLENSK, on the Dnieper.—TCHERNIGOV, south

east of Kiew, became an independent principality. PEREYASLAVL, near Kiew.—MUROM, on the Oka, northeast, was the capital of the tributary Finnic race of the Muromens. Moskow herself was yet unborn.

On the southern shores of the Baltic, or the *Sea of the Waræg*s, as it then was called, were still independent the savage BORUSSIANS (Prussians), and the VENDES (in Pomerania), who were fighting hard with the Saxon emperors of Germany, but had not yet succeeded in forming their large *Vendic Kingdom*, which we shall describe in the period of the Crusades.

§ II.—CENTRAL EUROPE.

228. DISMEMBERMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.—The mighty arm, which had ruled so many warlike nations of western Europe beneath its peaceful jurisdiction, was now no more, and the pious, but indolent, Louis-le-Debonnair, who could not control his own wife, Queen Judith, was still less able to restrain his violent sons, and their ambitious and aspiring retainers—both prelates and warriors—nor the then awakening feelings of nationality, which, with a higher cultivation, began to inspire Germans, French, and Italians. The Mussulmans in Spain; the Lombards in Italy; the Gallo-Romans in Aquitaine; the half-converted Saxons; the heathen Sclavonians and Avars; the proud Neustrian Franks; the still prouder Austrian Germans, as the countrymen of Karl the Great himself; all now fretted beneath the lax and vacillating government of the monkish Louis, and all aspired to a national independence, which only the penetrating glance and the armies of Charles had been able to restrain. Charles had victoriously repelled the gatherings of other barbaric tribes along the distant frontiers of his immense empire—but Danes, Sclavonians, Tartars, and Saracens, awaited only the death of the great emperor, to take back with usury the tributes which

he had imposed upon their vanquished tribes. The Northmen immediately began to infest the coasts with their fleets—the Saracens pressed upon the Spanish marches; the Basques (Vasconi) resumed their liberty in the Pyrenees; Brittany was in commotion; the Obotrites and Sorabians crossed the Elbe; the Bulgarians invaded Avaria. Within all was disorder; poor Louis gave away his domains to the church; he granted *hereditary* estates to his counts and envoys, and in his despair he divided his empire among his heartless and ambitious sons. Soon the civil war broke out in all its fury; the nations demanded their independence. Charles of France and Louis of Germany united against their brother Lothaire (Luther) of Italy, the Emperor, and the bloody battle at *Fontanetum* (Fontenay) near Auxerre in Burgundy, in July, 841, decided the separation of the component parts of the Carlovingian empire. Lothaire was routed, and forced to relinquish his imperial title. In the treaty at Verdun, 843, France, Germany, and Italy became distinct kingdoms, but in order to make an equal division, the two allied brothers ceded to Lothaire the whole tract of country lying between the Rhone, Moselle, and Scheldt on the west, and the Rhine and Alps on the east, that country in which the nationalities were mixed French and German, and the possession of which has afterward been the cause of so many desolating wars down to our own day. This country, then called *Middle France*, now took the name of its sovereign, LOTHERINGHE-RIKE, *Lotharingia*, or Lorraine.[69] So far, the independence of the different nationalities had been accomplished, yet the divisions between the quarrelsome descendants of Charlemagne did not stop there, and shortly afterward, at the death of Charles-le-Gros, A. D. 888, the three kingdoms split into nine states, separated

[69] The kingdom of Charles the Bald was then called FRANCIA NOVA —*West* or *Neu Franken*—the ancient Neustria and Aquitania, and that of Louis the German, east of the Rhine, FRANCIA ANTIQUA—*Ost* or *Alt Franken*—the ancient Austrasia; an appellation which is still preserved in the Bavarian province of Franconia.

by difference of race, language, or dialect. These were, 1, *Germany;* 2, *Lorraine;* 3, *France;* 4, *Bretagne* (Brittany); 5, *Italy;* 6, *Transjurane Burgundy;* 7, *Cisjurane Burgundy;* 8, *Aquitaine;* and 9, the *Spanish Border.* At the time of Otho the Great, one century later, 951–973, Italy and Lorraine had become united to Germany; Brittany and Aquitaine stood in loose feudal relations to France; and only the two Burgundies, united into one kingdom, and the western Spanish March, or the kingdom of Navarre, had preserved their autonomy. After many extraordinary vicissitudes, the German branch of the Carlovingian house became extinct with Louis-the-Child in 912, and the French with Louis V., the Idler, in 987; in the former state followed first duke Conrad of Franconia, until 919, and then the powerful dukes of Saxony; in the latter, the most wealthy and intriguing of the Feudatories, Hugh Capet, Count of Paris.

VIII.—The Kingdom of France.

229. Limits of France in 973.—The modern kingdom of France extended, at the period during which we describe the position of Europe, from the mouth of the Scheldt south to the city of Barcelona, whose count still recognized his allegiance to France.[70] Eastward, France was separated by the rivers Scheldt and Moselle from Lotharingia, and by the Saône and Rhone from the kingdom of Burgundy.

230. Political Divisions.—Feudalism had been repressed by the strong hand of Charlemagne, who administered his vast empire by his counts, as his judicial officers; they were however entirely dependent on the sovereign will of the Emperor. But Louis-le-Debonnair and his successors gave away dignities, counties, domains and all; and thus the elevation of the third royal dynasty in France, that of the Capets, in 987, marks the epoch during which feudalism, in its full

[70] Borrell, the ninth count of Barcelona, declared himself independent shortly after the accession of Hugh Capet.

power, prevailed throughout that country, and the greater part of central and southern Europe. In France, feudalism seemed at the beginning of the 11th century, already upon the point of crushing the royal authority altogether; but many different concurring causes—the strong central position of the Capetian domains, the prudence and longevity of these chiefs, the security of their hereditary succession, the protection and encouragement they gave to the cities and free communities, and lastly, the crusades, and the constant feuds among the nobles themselves—contributed to the slow yet progressive extension of the royal prerogative, which ultimately, in the beginning of the 14th century, gained the most signal victory. At the time of the downfall of the Carlovingian line, we make a distinction between the royal *domains* and the *fiefs*. The former were the immediate possessions under the crown, and they were at that time reduced to a mere trifle, while a considerable number of fiefs, more or less important, still belonged to the king. Yet though he was considered the *Suzerain*, or paramount lord of them, they formed in reality so many small independent states, the owners of which, under the feudal titles of dukes, counts, viscounts, barons, or mere seigniors, had now become possessors of territories, which their fathers only held as removable *Gau-grafen*, or imperial stewards. At the breaking up of the organization of the counties (*pagi* or *gauen*), the counts becoming hereditary lords, began to exert their influence and power in uniting as many districts as possible under their dominion; and while thus rounding off their territories, by marriage, or by the sword, large estates were founded that might have bid defiance to royalty itself. The Church had of course followed the example of the nobility, and the bishops and abbots, snugly seated in their cities and monasteries, became just as warlike, ambitious, and quarrelsome, as the dukes and counts themselves.[71]

[71] The bishops had obtained the jurisdiction of the ancient counts, or Count Palatines, in the cities of the empire; but as they were prelates,

231. The CARLOVINGIAN DOMAINS in 987, were reduced to the small COMITATUS LAUDUNENSIS, whose capital, *Laudunum* (Laon), situated on a steep mountain, was the capital of Louis the Idler (le fainéant). The town of *Compendium* (Compiègne), on the Oise, was his second possession, where he was crowned and buried.

232. FEUDAL TERRITORIES.—We shall here make some historical remarks on the most important, and only give the name of the rest. They were sixty in number, on the accession of Hugh Capet.[72]

I. COMITATUS FLANDRIÆ, which occupied the whole northern part of France. *Brugæ* (Bruges), *Ganda* (Gand), and *Arrebate* (Arras), were the most important towns, though still in their infancy.

II. COMITATUS GUISNÆ (Guines). III. C. BOLONIÆ (Boulogne). IV. PONTIVUS (Ponthieu), were all situated along the coast of the Channel. ABBATIS VILLA (Abbeville), was the capital of the latter; it had formerly belonged to the rich Abbey of St. Richerii. Hugh Capet had taken possession of the town, and fortifying it as a strong bulwark against the Normans, he gave the command of it to his brother-in-law, the count of Ponthieu.

233. V.—COMITATUS VERMANDENSIS (Vermandois), south

and could not themselves wield the sword of justice, they ruled by means of their military viscount, *vice-comes*, or bailiff. Thus the poor citizens, instead of one master, had now got two, who were often quarrelling with one another, and disturbing the tranquillity of the town with their violent feuds.

[72] The scale of our map did not permit us to fix the names of all the counties, viscounties, and smaller seigniories, but the historical student will easily be able to follow us on any geographical map of modern France. We likewise give both the Latin name then in use, and the modern French, because we know, from our own experience, how important the mediæval denominations are, in order to understand not only the chronicles and documents of the time, but even the frequent Latin citations which we meet with on every page in modern works on French history.

of Flanders, with the city of *Augusta Vermanduorum* (Saint Quentin), which gave its own name to the county, and took that of the saint who had died a martyr within its walls; *Ambiani* (Amiens), on the Somme. VI. C.—SUESSIONES (Soissons). VII.—C. VADENSIS (Valois), with the capital, *Crispium* (Crépi), and the fortress, *Vadum* (Vez), the former residence of the counts.

234. VIII.—COMITATUS REITESTINUS (Réthel), east of Vermandois, contained the whole northern part of the present Champagne. IX.—C. REMENSIS (Rheims), and Roceji (Roucy), in the centre of Champagne. X.—C. CAMPANIÆ (Champagne). XI.—C. SENONENSIS (Sens), west of Champagne.

235. XII.—DUCATUS FRANCIÆ (duché de France), comprised the whole country between the Loire and the Seine, from the borders of Normandy and Brittany, to those of Burgundy. The duchy contained the above-mentioned counties of Champagne, and the following:—COMITATUS PARISII (Paris), the most important of all; because the city of Paris, its capital, became on the accession of Hugh Capet, again the residence of the French king.

AURELIANUM (Orléans), on the Loire, formed likewise an important county, dependent on the duchy of France. Smaller feudal possessions following its banner, were BELVACUM, (Beauvais), C. CARNUTINUS (Chartres), C. TURONENSIS (Tours), and others. XIII.—C. CORBOLII (Corbeil), southeast of Paris. XIV.—C. MELLENTI (Meulan), northeast of Paris. XV.—C. VUCASSINUS (Vexin), with the capital, *Pontesia* (Pontoise), on the Oise. The count was the vassal of the archiepiscopal see of Saint Denis, and raised his own banner.

236. XVI. DUCATUS NORMANNIÆ (Normandy) extended along the coast of the Channel, from the river *Bresle* on the northeast to the *Couesnon* on the southwest, and was divided from the county of Vexin by the river *Epte*, so celebrated by the treaty between Charles the Simple and Rolf Ganger, the Norman hero, in 911, at the town of Saint Clair-sur-Epte, where-

in the whole fertile province was ceded to the Normans. These fierce warriors had, during the latter part of the ninth century, continued their invasions on the coasts of France, burning and destroying the cities on the banks of the Seine, Loire, and twice besieging Paris itself. But their settlement in Normandy in 912, was of immense consequence for the development, not only of the French kingdom as a power, but for that of the language and literature of France, and the introduction of those chivalrous ideas and manners by which the French, later, outshone all the nations of Europe. Those Danish and Norwegian Vikings were, by the effeminate Carlovingian Princes, considered as unwieldy barbarians; but they appear, on the contrary, to have been a highly endowed race of men, who, by their intelligence, daring courage, activity, and perseverance in every enterprise, were the true prototypes of their still more successful descendants, the Americans. The Normans took up the plough as nimbly as the sword. The fertile lands of Normandy were divided by the line among the conquerors, who became the lords of towns and hamlets, and thus the native serfs changed masters; but from a wilderness the country within twenty years became the garden of France. It suddenly rose to wealth and civilization, being peopled by thousands of Normans from Denmark and Norway, who continued to pour in and settle on the coast-lands of Bayeux and Coutances, where their language, the Danish tongue—*Danske Tunge*—predominated for centuries, and is still distinguished in many words of the Normanic dialect of the present day.[73] The wild, fantastic religion of Odin; the adventurous life of the sea-rovers; their sudden conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, with its pomp and solemnity—all combined, gave a certain religious and romantic turn to their character, their ideas,

[73] The Normans are still the best mariners of France, and all their most distinguished Admirals were of Norman descent. We discern, likewise, this Scandinavian influence in the naval expressions of the French language, such as, for instance: *esquif, boulines, raalings, gardinges, haler, sigler, sterman* and many others—all of Danish origin.

and manners, which we discover in their chivalrous institutions, their literature, and arts. Every church built by the Normans in France or Italy bears evidence of their fanciful taste for dragons, monsters, and supernatural beings.[74] The Norman knights marrying native Frenchwomen, soon forgot their native language, and not being crammed with the pedantic Latin of that period, they boldly took up the vulgar French dialect, which their bards, within a century, raised to the rank of a polished and poetical language. The Norman chroniclers and poets are the fathers of the present French—not of that soft and love-breathing tongue of the *troubadours* in southern France, beyond the Loire—the *Provençal*—which after a short brilliant sway during the age of the crusades, was stopped in its progress by the terrible religious wars against the Waldenses, and soon yielded to the proud Castilian in the southwest, and the wonderfully developed and harmonious speech of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace in Italy. It was the Norman poets —the *trouvères*—who, in the *northern French dialect*, wrote the conquest of England and Jerusalem, the deeds of King Arthur and his knights of the round table. They introduced the taste for the romances of chivalry, and the celebrated allegorical tales of Alexander the Great, which, with ingenuity and secret flattery, described the life and deeds of King Philip Augustus of France, and at last decided the character and structure of our modern French. Nor was their political and military influence less remarkable than that of their poetry and art; and it is mainly to the Normans that we must ascribe the brilliant success of the French arms in the great crusade in 1099.

[74] The most curious Norman monument of those times is the immense tapestry in the Church of Bayeux, two hundred and fourteen English feet in length, which represents the expedition of William the Conqueror to England, the battle of Hastings, and other military exploits, exhibiting the armature and costumes of the eleventh century in a beautiful workmanship. It was embroidered by the fair hands of Queen Mathilda and her court ladies, and must have given the industrious women occupation for years.

RODOMAGUS (Rouen), on the Seine, was the ducal capital. *Altavilla* (Hauteville), in the viscounty of Coutances on the coast, the patrimonial seat of the noble race of the *Hauteville*, from whom sprung the world-known Robert Guiscard, Roger, Drogo, Bohemund, and Tancred—the former, the conquerors and founders of the Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the two last, the heroes of the first crusade. XVII. COMITATUS DROCÆ (Dreux), southeast of Normandy, at the period we describe, occupied by Duke Richard I. XVIII. and XIX., C. ALENCIONIS (Alençon), and C. BELLISMUM (Bellesme), south of Normandy, possessed by lords who followed the ducal banner of Normandy.

237. COMITATUS BRITANNIÆ (Bretagne) occupied the whole ancient peninsula of Armorica, whose count often appears as vassal of the Dukes of Normandy. *Redones* (Rennes) was the capital. The Bretons were of British origin; they spoke their own Celtic language, and hated the French, as their brethren beyond the water their Anglo-Saxon oppressors. They were a brave and quarrelsome people, and gave the Dukes of Normandy continual trouble, until Duke William I. brought them to allegiance with the broadsword. XXI. DOMINIUM FULGERIÆ (Fougères), northeast of Brittany.

238. XXII. COMITATUS CENOMANIÆ (Maine), capital *Maiatum* (le Mans). XXIII. C. ANDEGAVENSIS (Anjou), capital *Andegavi* (Angers), on the Loire. XXIV. C. VINDOCINENSIS (Vendôme), at the time possessed by the Count of Anjou. XXV. C. BLESENSIS (Blois). XXVI. VICE-COMITATUS BITURRICÆ (Bourges) consisted of the city of that name, the capital of *Berry*, with its territory and the Abbey of *Saint Gondon-sur-Loire*. XXVII. DOMINIUM BORBONENSE, (Seigniory of Bourbon) southeast of Berry, with the capital *Bourbon* called Archambaud, after the lords who ruled this region for several centuries.

239. XXVIII. DUCATUS BURGUNDIÆ, different from the kingdom of that name, or of Arelate, which latter lay south between the Rhone and the Alps. The duchy bordered north on

Champagne and France, east on Lorraine and the kingdom of Arelate, south on the Saône, and west beyond the Loire on Bourbonnois and Nivernois. Burgundy was held by Henry the Great as a fief of the French crown; he obtained it afterwards in full property from his brother, Hugh Capet, when the latter mounted the throne of France in 987. DIVIONA (Dijon), on the Ouche, was then the capital of the duchy; but the princes generally resided in the castle of *Poulli*, on the Saône. *Fontanetum* (Fontenay), west near the river Icauna (Yonne), where, on the 25th of June 841, was fought the bloody battle between the sons of Louis le Debonnair, which cost the empire thousands of brave warriors, and decided its final dismemberment. *Austunum*, the ancient Augustodunum (Autun). *Autissiodorum* (Auxerre), with splendid ruins from the Roman times. The PALATINATUS BURGUNDIÆ (county of Burgundy, afterwards the *Franche Comté*) formed at this period part of the Arelate kingdom, and was divided among several counts, whose feudal territories cannot be given in detail. XXIX. COMITATUS TERNODORENSIS (Tonnère), northwest of Burgundy. XXX. COMITATUS NIVERNENSIS (Nevèrs), on the east of the duchy. XXXI. C. CABILONENSIS (Chalons), southeast on the Saône. XXXII. C. MATISCENSIS (Macon), south of the former, on the Saône, on the frontier of the Arelate kingdom. In the territory of this count, William the Pius, Count of Auvergne and Aquitaine, founded in A. D. 910 the celebrated monastery of Cluni—*Cluniacense monasterium*—in a beautiful valley on the river *Graona* (Grône). As he dedicated it to the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the Abbey was placed under the immediate dependence of the Roman Pontiff.

240. XXXIII. COMITATUS ALVERNIÆ (Auvergne), west of the Rhone, and south of Bourbonnois, in the high mountains. *Clarus Mons*—the celebrated Gergovia of Julius Cæsar (now Clermont), on a splendid site at the foot of Mount Puy de Dome, was the capital. XXXIV. V. C. LEMOVICENSIS (Viscounty of Limoges), which embraced the Haut-Limosin on the north; and XXXV. V. C. TORENNÆ (Turenne) on

the south, both west of the Auvergnian Mountains. XXXVI. COMITATUS MARCHÆ (county of the *Basse Marche*, or the lowland county of Limosin) westward, with the capital *Bellac* on the Gartempe River. XXXVII. C. VARACTENSIS (county of the *Haute Marche* or highland march), east of the former, on the western slope of the mountains, with *Varactum* (Guéret) for its capital. At the time we describe, this county was united to C. PETRAGORIS (Périgord), with the capital *Petragora* (Périgueux) on the *Illa* (Isle). Lying on the southwest, toward the Garonne, Périgord was separated from the hill county by the Basse Marche. XXXVIII. C. ENCOLISMENSIS (Angoulême) northwest of Périgord. XXXIX. C. PICTAVENSIS (Poitiers), north of the Angoumois, was at that period possessed by William II., Duke of Aquitaine.

241. XL. DUCATUS AQUITANIÆ (Aquitaine or Guyenne), south of Périgord and Limosin, and to which belonged then, not only the county of Poitiers, the COMITATUS XANTONENSIS (Saintonge), and ALNETENSIS (Aunix), on the coast of the Atlantic, but also the greater part of Limosin. *Burdigala* (Bordeaux), on the Garonne, was the largest and most flourishing city of Guyenne, but it belonged in 987, with its county, to the duchy of Gascogne.

242. XLI. DUCATUS GUASCONIÆ (Gascogne), south of Guyenne.—*Elusa* (Auch) the principal city, capital of XLII., the *Comitatus Armaniaci* (Armagnac), in a central position, and the most important county of Gascogne. XLIII. *V. C. Aquensis* (Albret), on the coast of the Gulf of Biscay, with the capital *Aquæ* (Dax) on the river *Aturis* (Adour). XLIV. *C. Fidentiaci* (Fezenzac), east of Armagnac. XLV. *V. C. Leomania* (Lomagne), with *V. C. Lectoræ* (Lectoure), northeast of Fezenzac, on the Garonne. XLVI. C. ASTARACI (Astrac), with the capital Mirande. The count possessed likewise the neighboring COMITAT. PARDIACI (Pardiac). XLVII. V. C. BENEARNIÆ (Viscounty of Béarn), south at the base of the Pyrenees, with the capital *Palum* (Pau), on the river *Gava* (Gave). XLVIII. C. BIGORRÆ (Bigorre), east of Béarn, in

the high valleys of the Pyrenean mountains, with the capital *Tarbes* on the Adour. XLIX. C. CONVENIÆ (Cominges), east of Bigorre, with the capital *St. Bertrandi* (Saint Bertrand).

243. L. COMITATUS TOLOSÆ (Toulouse), east of Guyenne, with which it held the first rank in southern France, comprising besides, 1, the COMITAT. CAORCINI (Quercy), north of the Garonne, with *Caorcium* (Cahors), on the river *Oltus* (Lot); 2, V. C. ALBINGENSIS (Albigeois), with the capital *Albigæ* (Alby), on the *Tarnus* (Tarn); and 3, the COMITAT. SANCTI ÆGIDII (Saint Gilles), at the mouth of the Rhone. This small county belonged properly to the county of *Nemausus* (Nîmes), and had its name from the old Abbey of that name, situated on the banks of the Rhone. LI. COMITATUS RODENENSIS (Rovergue), east of Quercy, belonged to the younger house of the counts of Toulouse. The capital was *Rodes* (Rodéz), on the *Aveyron*. LII. DOMINIUM MONTIS PESSULANI (Seigniory of Montpellier). LIII. C. MELGORII (Mergueil), east of Montpellier. LIV. V. C. NARBONENSIS (Narbonne). LV. C. CARCASSESSII (Carcassonne), west of the former, and then in possession of COMITATUS FUXI (Foix), south in the valleys of the Pyrenees. LVI. C. ROSSILLONENSIS (Rousillon), southeast of Carcassonne. The capital was *Elna* (Elne), and afterwards *Perpinianum* (Perpignan).

244. LVII. COMITATUS BARCINONÆ (Barcelona), or the Spanish Border-County, which still belonged nominally to France, from the time of the conquest of Charlemagne (184), but soon declared itself independent. Later, it played a brilliant part in history under the sway of its warlike counts, who in the year 1137, by the marriage of Count Raymond Berengario IV. united Barcelona with the kingdom of Aragon. LVIII. C. AMPURITANENSIS (Ampurias), in the passes of the Pyrenees. LIX. C. CEREDANIÆ (Cerdagne), and C. BISULDENSIS (Bézalu), west of Ampurias, on the southern slope of the mountains, and LX. COMITATUS URGELLENSIS (Urgel), in the deep valley of Andorra.

245. With the accession of the third race—the Capetians

or Capetingians—in 987, the history of the *Franks* is at an end, and that of the *French* begins. The Germanic elements in the former have been entirely absorbed in the Romanic language, character, and habits of the latter. Yet the Aquitanians, south of the Loire, and the Burgundians on the Rhone, still preserve their distinct nationalities. Burgundy had already, a century ago (888), formed an independent kingdom—and the feudal bonds by which Aquitaine is still attached to France are so slight, that when Hugh Capet, in 990, with his feudal army advanced upon Tours on the Loire, then besieged by Count Aldebert of Périgueux, and sending his heralds, asked the Aquitanian, "*Who made thee count?*"—he received the proud answer: "*Who made thee king?*"[75] Thus we find France at the close of the 10th century ruled by sixty almost independent princes, and a still greater number of powerful prelates, who considered Duke Hugh Capet of Paris their chosen king, only as a *primus inter pares*, yet we shall soon, in our next historical picture, at the close of the subsequent century, discover with what prudence and perseverance the Capetian kings have employed their household power for the extension of their territory and the consolidation of their hereditary dynasty on the throne of France.

IX.—Kingdom of Burgundy (Arelate).

246. Origin, Extent, and Principal Cities.—During the disturbances which followed in France on the death of Louis the Stammerer (son of Charles the Bald), in 879, the intelligent and active Duke Boson, his brother-in-law and governor in Burgundy, was unanimously elected king by the Burgundian diet at Montaille, and took the crown at Lyons. The young kingdom—*Regnum Burgundiæ*—comprised at that time a portion of the French duchy of Burgundy (Chalon

[75] See the important work of Augustin Thierry: Lettres sur l'Histoire de France. Lettre XII., page 220, of the Bruxelles edition.

and Mâcon), the Franche-Comté, Vienne and Lyons, the southeast part of Languedoc west of the Rhone and the Provence. Arelate (Arles) became the capital, and gave it the name *Regnum Arelate.* Burgundy was recognized by King Charles the Simple of France as an independent state, but after the death of King Boson, in 887, Count Rudolphus, his governor of the provinces beyond Mount Jura, in High Burgundy (Switzerland), rebelled against his son and successor, Louis, and established another kingdom in Wallis and Savoy. Burgundy was thus split in two—Burgundia Transjurana and Cisjurana (219)—which, however, after different revolutions, were united again under Rudolphus II., in 933. But being attacked by France, Rudolphus III. transmitted the succession of his crown to the Emperor Henry II. of Germany; the imperial forces took possession of the county in 1032, and then Burgundy remained in feudal relations to Germany for two and a half centuries. Charles IV. is the last emperor who was crowned king of Arelate in 1364, and proudly called Marseilles and Toulon *his German ports.* Yet the whole was a mere ceremony. Provence had long ago been united to Aragon (1166), and to France (1245), and the latter power successively incorporated the small, almost independent states into which the Arelate kingdom, in the course of time, had become divided.

The Burgundian kings were elective, and entirely dependent on the nobility and clergy; their revenues were insignificant, and they could only secure their equivocal position by enriching the church, and distributing their royal domains among counts and cavaliers. The kingdom of Burgundy extended from the Saône and the Rhone on the west, to the Alps on the east, and from Basle on the Rhine to the Mediterranean. It was divided into HIGH BURGUNDY or TRANSJURANE BURGUNDY —comprising *Western Switzerland*, *the Aargau*, *Uechtland*, *Valais*, *le Pays-de-Vaud* and the county of *Geneva*, together with the *Franche Comté*, and part of the *Duchy of Burgundy* —and ARELATE or CISJURANE BURGUNDY, with *Sapaudia*

(Savoy), *Comitatus Lugdunensis*, and *Provence*. LYONS was ceded in 955 by King Louis IV., as a dower for his daughter, who married Conrad, third king of Burgundy, and was for some time his capital. *Besançon*, *Geneva*, *Lausanne*, *Grenoble*, *Valence*, *Avignon*, *Embrun*, *Forcalquier*, *Aix*, and *Marseille*. VIENNE (122), was the capital of a county under the allegiance of France. The origin of the celebrated house of SAVOY is from this time. Their oldest possessions were on the lakes of *Annecy* and *Geneva*, and in the *Lower Valais*, from *Saint Maurice* to the castle of *Chillon*, situate on the lake. Afterward Count Odo married Adelaide, heiress of the marquisate of IPOREDIA (Ivrea). From these parents Amadeus inherited, together with Savoy, the valley of AOSTA, the plain of PIE-DI-MONTE (Piedmont), and a number of fortresses reaching to the Mediterranean.

X. THE ROMANO-GERMANIC EMPIRE.

247. FRONTIERS, EXTENT, CHANGE OF DYNASTY AND CONSTITUTION.—The entire eastern moiety of the Carlovingian empire, with Lotharingia, Bohemia, Moravia, the eastern marches on the Danube, the Sclavonian states east of the Elbe, the duchy of Poland, and the kingdom of Italy, was, during the memorable reign of Otho the Great (936–973), formed into the Romano-Germanic Empire, which, on account of the possession of Rome, the imperial capital of the west, received the proud name of the *Sacred Roman Empire of the German Nation*—(*das heilige Römische Reich Deutschen Volkes.*) During the middle ages it preserved its preponderating influence on the political relations of Europe; and it was considered as the principal empire in the world, a rank which, however, was disputed by the Byzantine emperors of the east. It occupied the whole central part of Europe, from the banks of the Scheldt, and the Meuse, and from the Alps and the Mediterranean on the west, to the Vistula, and even far beyond that river, to the Bug, the Carpathian mountains, and the

Adriatic on the east. On the north, Germany extended from the Schley, near the *Dannevirke* (190), north of the Eider, to the Gulf of Tarentum and the Tuscan Sea in the south. After the battle of Fontenay and the treaty of Verdun, in 843 (162), the nations had broken the chains which linked them to the unwieldy Carlovingian Empire. The west Franks had become Frenchmen—*Français;* the east Franks, Germans—*Deutsche;* whose five leading tribes, the Saxons, Thuringians, Frankonians, Suabians, and Bavarians, at once appear in their distinct national development, and with the extinction of the German branch of the Carlovingian dynasty in 911, the history of the *German Nation* begins. Charlemagne had concentrated the whole government of the different German tribes under his powerful rule, by the abolition of the ducal dignity, and the strict dependency of his imperial officers, the counts of the *pagi* (*gaugrafen*), and the envoys, (*missi dominici*), who controlled them (170). But after his death, the invasion of the frontiers was begun by Danes, Hungarians, Sclavi and Saracens; his weak successors were unable, like the great emperor himself, to fly from one end of the empire to another, to repel the enemy; they therefore placed border counts—*margraves*—with ducal powers, at the head of the armies: soon the jurisdiction of the provinces passed into their hands too; and during the reign of the last Carlovingians, towards the close of the ninth century, we find that these warriors reappear as dukes of Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Bavaria, Souabia, and Lorraine. They were not yet, it is true, regarded as lords of their people and lands, but as ministers and representatives of their king, in whose name they regulated, in peace the affairs of justice and order, and in war, led the army of their tribe to battle. But soon becoming large landed proprietors, and being no longer under the surveillance of the royal envoys, the dukes took advantage of the weakness of the kings. By degrees they arrogated to themselves an increase of power, and brought the lesser vassals under their dominion;—nay, they even gradually made their *dignity*, granted them only as im-

perial crown officers, *hereditary* in their families, as well as the revenues of the crown lands, which they had only received as the reward for their service. Like the great dukes, the inferior imperial officers, the counts, palatines, margraves, and others, established themselves more and more firmly in their dignities, and the estates attached to their jurisdictions. The whole ancient division of districts—*gauen*—and the principles on which they were founded, fell gradually into decay, and the lands became seigneurial territories. The spiritual lords, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were like the temporal lords, members and vassals of the empire, and like them, they augmented their secular power and possessions by means of military tenures; and thus all these dignitaries became in the course of the tenth century, from mere deputies of royal authority, independent princes of the German nation. The ancient military organization of Charlemagne, was the arrière-ban—*heer-ban*—the gathering of the freemen, who, with shield and lance followed the emperor on his expeditions for the short term of six months. But in the succeeding wars with the Hungarians and Poles, victory could only be secured by a skilful and daring cavalry. Knights' service on horseback, in full armor, was therefore required from the nobility and their vassals; the chivalrous spirit of the age prompted the larger proprietor to take his estate as a fief of the nobility, and become their liegeman. Thus arose the *Ritterschaft*—the order of the knights—while the common freeman being exempted from his military duty in the *arrière-ban*, and forbidden the use of sword and lance, was oppressed with contributions and taxes, and sunk back into the despised condition of the peasant and the serf. In the wild times of the *fist law*, the poorer class of freemen called *lids—leute*—gave themselves up, both in body and possessions, to the guardianship of the church, or as tenants to the nobles, and thus they and their descendants became bound to *the soil*, and the property of their lord. The rude manners of the Germans were however softened by the early dawn of chivalry. Arms, and the

chase remained their favorite occupations; the sword and the falcon their best treasures. Tournaments and jousts were introduced by Henry the Fowler, to exercise his German knighthood for the equestrian warfare against the Hungarians. The hunting fêtes of the German nobility were superb, and included among the highest festivities of life. Ladies, from gorgeously ornamented tents, beheld the animated scenes of the chase. In the evening, they feasted under tents in the forest, and the jovial company, with their suites, returned by torchlight, amidst the music of the hunting horns. Large tracts of land were left waste for the sake of the chase, and kings and nobles preferred on this account the residence in their castles, and despised the quiet dwelling in cities. We have spoken of the flourishing cities on the Rhine (71, 163); in the interior of Germany the rise of fortified towns commenced during the Hungarian wars, in the beginning of the tenth century. In order to protect the open country against the desolating incursions of the Hungarian hordes, Henry the Fowler built a number of castles, or *burghs*, to serve as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the environs. Merseburg, Meissen, Dresden, Nordhausen, Quedlingburg, and many other fortified cities and castles in Saxony and Thuringia, arose at this time. The citizens—*burghers*—were endowed with privileges; they formed free municipalities, exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops or secular nobility, and became the safeguards of social and political liberty in Germany. After the extinction of the German branch of the Carlovingian dynasty, with Louis the Child, in 911, Conrad, duke of Franconia, was chosen king. Though he found great opposition among the unruly dukes of the different German principalities, he bravely defended the country against the Hungarians, secured the possession of Lorraine beyond the Rhine, and on his death, in 919, proposed Henry, duke of Saxony, as the most worthy chief to succeed him on the throne. The Saxon house then followed, from 919 to 1024, under Henry I. (the Fowler), the three Othos, and Henry II., one of the most brilliant periods in German history.

248. DIVISIONS AND PRINCIPAL CITIES.—The Romano-Germanic empire, though apparently so vast in extent, was in reality not very powerful, because composed of many scattered nations—Germans, Sclavonians, and Italians, who differed from one another in origin, manners, language, and laws, and were governed by turbulent dukes and arrogant prelates, who were continually in arms against the emperors. We shall here give a short description of the nine great subdivisions of the empire during the reign of Otho the Great.

I. The kingdom of LOTHARINGIA or *Lorraine*, on the northwest, between the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine, formed a portion of Germany; but its position on the frontiers of France made it easy for the nobles to maintain a state of almost entire independence, which continued until the conquest of Otho the Great in 959. Lorraine was then divided into two dukedoms: DUCATUS LOTHERINGIÆ INFERIORIS—*Ripuariæ*—or lower Lorraine, on the *Meuse* (Maas) and the sea-coast, and DUCATUS LOTHERINGIÆ SUPERIORIS—*Mosellanæ*—or upper Lorraine, on the Moselle, and extending eastward to the mountain range of the Vosges. The two duchies were divided by the celebrated forest of the Ardennes or *Silva Arduenna;* and the political separation by Otho dissolved the alliance of their nobility, thus securing these important provinces to the empire. AQUÆ or *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where Charlemagne died in 814, and Otho I. was crowned in 936 with great solemnity, continued to be considered as the capital of the empire. *Cologne*, the archiepiscopal seat of Bruno, the emperor's (Otho) brother. *Leuva* (Louvain), on the *Tilia* (Dyle), where the Normans, during their devastating incursions, had erected a fortified camp, but were totally defeated by the valiant King Arnulf in 889. Those invincible Danes, who never had been known to fly before an enemy, were here borne down by the edge of the sword; their camp and fleet with immense booty were taken, and the joyful event spread like wildfire throughout all Germany. METTIS (Metz), on the Moselle, was the capital of upper Lorraine. *Tullum* (Toul), *Virodunum* (Ver-

dum), *Confluentes* (Coblentz), on the Rhine, and *Treviris* (Trèves), on the Moselle, were flourishing cities. LUCELINBURG or *Luzilinburch* (Luxemburg), a strong fortress on the *Alsuntia* (Alzette), was ceded by the monks of Trèves to Count Sigfried, who was the first of the powerful Counts of Luxemburg, that later mounted the imperial throne of Germany.

II. DUCATUS FRESIÆ (Holland and Friesland) extended from the north of the Weser along the shore to the Scheldt. The Counts of *Holtlandia* possessed the low coast-land of modern Holland. *Ultrajectum* (Utrecht) and *Daventre* (Derventer) were the principal towns.

249. III. DUCATUS SAXONIÆ, on the east of Friesland, was, in the tenth century, the most powerful and important state of Germany. The unruly, heathen Saxons, whom Charlemagne had converted to Christianity and civilization by the sword, had in the course of the ninth century, become the bravest and most cultivated people in Germany, who, under the native chiefs, King Henry the Fowler, and his great son, Otho I. of Saxony, delivered Germany from the insupportable yoke of the Hungarians, and united the imperial crown of Italy to that of the mother country. The duchy extended from Friesland to the Oder, and north from Schleswig to the Thuringian mountain ridge on the south. All the lands eastward of the Elbe were conquests from the Sclavonian tribes of the Viltzes, Sorabi, and Daleminzii, on the *Limes Sorabicus*, which now became the *Ostmark* or eastern frontier, strongly protected by castles and border-settlers. *Osnebrugge* (Osnabruck), *Padarabrunna* (Paderborn), *Münster*, *Goslar*, *Hildesheim*, all cities with cathedral churches. *Magadeburg* (Magdeburg), on the Elbe, became an archbishopric under Otho. *Quidilingaburg* (Quedlinburg), built by Henry I. The remains of the great king lie buried in the Church of Saint Peter. *Memleben*, where he died on the 2d of July, 936. *Merseburg*, where he gained the celebrated victory over the Hungarians, in whose camp thousands of German prisoners, women and children, were

liberated from the most terrible fate, and Germany secured against the yearly invasions of those barbarians. This memorable battle took place in 933. Near *Goslar*, at the base of the *Hartes-Berg* (Mount Hartz), the richest silver mines in Europe were discovered during the reign of Otho, and worked to the great prosperity of Saxony. *Hammaburgum* (Hamburg), on the Elbe, and *Brema* (Bremen), on the Weser, both archbishoprics, which sent their missionaries into the north for the conversion of the heathen Scandinavians. *Marca Sliaswyk* was the border district beyond the Eider, which Henry I. established as a bulwark against the incursions of the Danes from beyond their fortified lines—the Danevirke—between the frith of the Schlei and the North Eider (222). THURINGIA, in the south, was during this period united with the duchy of Saxony.

IV. DUCATUS FRANCONIÆ consisted of the ancient Frankish lands on the central Rhine, Hassia, the country west of the Thüringer-wald, and extended east to Bohemia; it was divided into *Francia Rhenensis*, on both sides of that river, and *Francia Orientalis*, at the foot of the Fichtel-gebirge, on the upper Mayn. In Franconia the ducal title appeared later, because the country, as long as the kings continued of the Carlovingian family, was considered as *king's land;* it was, however, administered by powerful counts; and the celebrated families of the Babenbergers in eastern Franconia, and the Conradinians at Worms on the Rhine, divided the power, until they broke out into a deadly dispute and fight, in which the Babenbergers were completely defeated. Count Conrad soon afterwards in 911 mounted the throne as Conrad I., and possessed the duchy with full ducal power; and his brother and successor, Eberhard, obtained the ducal dignity from Henry I. of Saxony. Large ecclesiastic territories included in Franconia, were the following: The archbishopric of Mainz, the bishoprics of Würtzburg, Bamberg, Worms, Spire, and the wealthy and powerful abbeys of Fulda and Lorch. TRIBUR, on the Rhine, celebrated for the frequent diets of the empire held there. MAGONTIA—Mainz—(Mayence), on the junction

of the Mayn and the Rhine. *Franconovurt* (Frankfort), on the Mayn. *Wirciburg* (Würtzburg), on the upper Mayn. *Babenberg* (Bamberg), on the Regnitz.

250. V. Ducatus Alemanniæ (Souabia), south of Franconia, embraced the present Baden, Würtemberg, and eastern Switzerland, the Aargau, Züricgau, and Thurgau. In Souabia, where the defence of the frontiers was not so necessary, the ducal dignity was but gradually acquired through the power of the *imperial envoys* (167, 170), and developed itself later. Conrad I. made the brave warrior, Burchard, Duke of Souabia. *Augstburg* (Augsburg), on the Lech. It was south of this city, on the Lech field, where Otho I., with his Germans divided into eight squadrons, surrounded and totally defeated the Hungarians, thousands of whom found their grave in the river, A. D. 955.

VI. Ducatus Bavariæ, southeast of Souabia, was bordered west by the rivers *Lech* and *Ratenna* (Regnitz), and east by the *Böhmer-wald* and the river *Anisus* (Ens); north it touched the Thuringian mountains, and south the high chain of the Alps. Bavaria was one of the oldest duchies of Germany, and we have already seen how her duke, Thassilon, of the ancient race of the Agitolfingi, by his alliance with the Avars, excited the anger of Charlemagne, and lost his duchy at the diet of Ingelheim in 788 (177). Bavaria became then, like the other Frankish countries, ruled by imperial counts. But her eastern frontiers were so much exposed to the incursions of the Sclavonians from Bohemia, and the Hungarians from Pannonia, that the ducal dignity was restored as early as 901, and her frontiers were even extended by placing the whole duchy of *Carinthia* (Kairnthen), and the *Marca Orientalis* (Osterichi or modern Austria), under the control and protection of the Duke of Bavaria. Ratisbona—*Reganesburg* (now Regensburg), *Pazzawa* (Passau), and *Anisipurg* (Ens), on the Danube. *Salzburg*, in the beautiful plain on the Salza, was, by Charlemagne, erected into an archbishopric over all Bavaria.

VII. Ducatus Bohemiæ, northeast of Bavaria, comprised

the eastern frontier province of Moravia, and extended to the Carpathian mountains. The Bohemians were Sclavonians belonging to the tribe of the *Czekho-Slovaks* (107), who, in the times of Charlemagne, voluntarily recognized the supremacy of the Franks, and remained henceforth united to the Germanic Empire. German missionaries spread the light of Christianity among the Czekhs, and in the year 972 an archbishopric was erected in Prague, which exerted its beneficial influence over the eastern provinces of the empire. *Praga* (Prague), the capital of Bohemia, on a magnificent site on the Moldau, became soon a populous and thriving city. *Olomuc* (Olmütz), in Moravia, was the strong border fortress against the Hungarians.

VIII. Ducatus Poloniæ, north of Bohemia, stood only in more distant feudal relations to Germany. The *Ljæchs* or Polani (107), the present brave and cruelly down-trodden Poles, formed early a large number of small principalities on the extensive and fertile plains of the Vistula and the Oder. The *Masuri*, *Wislanti*, *Wielunzani*, and other *Ljæchish* tribes, terminated their internal feuds in the year 842, and chose a virtuous freeholder by the name of Piast for their duke. During the reign of his descendants, the *Piasts*, Christianity was introduced into Poland by Greek missionaries from Constantinople. Duke Mieczislav dismissed his seven heathen wives, was converted, baptized, and married the Bohemian princess, Dombrowka; many nobles followed the example of their duke; and the erection of the episcopal see of Posen in 970 soon gained the victory against the Greeks, and brought Poland back to the allegiance of the Roman Pontiff. At that time Otho I., at the head of his feudal army, appeared on the Vistula, and the timid Mieczislav did homage to the Emperor, paid yearly tribute, and followed the imperial banner with his Polish cavalry. Yet the Poles were too powerful and too warlike a people to remain under the yoke of the haughty German border-counts, and already the son of Mieczislav, Boleslav the Brave (Chrobry), restored, in 1000, the independence of his country, and took the royal crown. The Poles were a

handsome, active, sincere, and valiant people. The farmers—*kmetons*—served on foot with lance and shield; the richer proprietors—*szlachzie*—appeared on horseback in full armor, and formed the strength of the feudal army of Poland—*pospolité ruscenié*. Otho and his German knights were astonished at the immense wealth and abundance they discovered all over the country; and learned that the commerce between the Baltic, the Black Sea and Constantinople, at that time passed mostly on the commercial roads through Poland, who protected the merchants and contributed her own active part in the general traffic by her grains, furs, cattle, and excellent horses. The government was still patriarchal; and the life of kings and cavaliers divided between agricultural pursuits, the chase of the urus and bear, or equestrian forays against the Russians. LUSACIA (Lausitz), on the Elbe, and the duchies of SILESIA and POMERANIA were provinces of Poland. *Wraslaw* (Breslau), on the Oder; *Crakow* on the Vistula; *Posen*, *Plotzk*, and *Gniesno* (Gnesen), were the principal cities. Otho III. established an archbishopric in the latter city in the year 1000.

251. IX. REGNUM ITALIÆ.—Charlemagne was crowned Roman Emperor on Christmas Day, in St. Peter's, in the year 800, and he governed Italy, with his other vast states, forty years establishing the reign of the laws and a flourishing civilization. Eight kings of the Carlovingian dynasty ruled in Italy; but when Charles-le-Gros was deposed in 888, Italian or Burgundian princes disputed for seventy years the crown of Italy and the imperial title. Powerful feudatories arose on the downfall of the royal authority. These were the dukes of Spoleto and Tuscany, the marquises (margraves) of Ivrea, Susa, and Friuli. The great Lombard duchy of Benevento, which had only rendered feudal homage to Charlemagne, and comprised more than half the present kingdom of Naples, had now fallen into decay, and split into the small principalities of Capua, Salerno, and Gaeta. Berengar, the marquis of Friuli, reigned for thirty-six years, but with continually disputed pre-

tensions. The calamities of Italy were then aggravated by foreign invasions. The Hungarians pouring in through the defiles of the Julian Alps, devastated Lombardy; the Saracens, then masters of Sicily (from 826), infested the southern coasts and settled on Mount Gargano, at Lucera in the Apulian plain, and on the Gulf of Tarento. Plunged in an abyss from which her wrangling native princes could not save her, Italy sought her salvation in the sword of the Saxon Otho the Great. It is a well-known fact that it was the tears of a beautiful woman, Adelheid of Burgundy, then besieged in the castle of Canossa, on Mount Apennine, by the revengeful Berengar, which determined the chivalrous German king to cross the Alps in 951, to win his lovely bride and the imperial crown of Italy; an event of the utmost importance, because it henceforth drew the almost entire attention of the German kings to the affairs of Italy, and hindered them from consolidating their power in their native country. The German army found no opposition south of the Alps. Berengar II., the sovereign of Italy, submitted, and when he later attempted to raise the banner of independence again, Otho descended from the Alps a second time, deposed the Italian prince, and received the imperial crown at the hands of Pope John XII., in 961, in Rome, and the iron crown of Lombardy the following year in Milan. The greater part of Italy recognized the German supremacy; only the Greeks sustained themselves in the south. Otho sent the bishop Luitprand to Constantinople, to obtain the cession of the Greek territories from the Emperor Nicephorus; and when the embassy proved unsuccessful, he entered in 969 the Greek provinces sword in hand. But a revolution at the imperial court of Constantinople restored the friendly relations between the two empires. The Greek princess, Theophania, gave her hand to young Prince Otho, the successor of his father, Otho I., who died immediately after his return to Germany in 973.

252. Division and Cities of Italy in 973.—In the north, the marquisate of *Milan*, between the Alps, the upper

Padus, the Apennines, and the lake of Garda, with the archiepiscopal see of Mediolanum, a large number of counties and flourishing cities, who began already, under the protection of the German king, to augment their privileges and immunities, and to give a republican form to their municipal government. On the west of Milan lay the marquisates of *Ivrea*, *Susa*, *Montferrate* and *Savona*; and on the east, the county of *Tridentum* (Trent), in the Alps; the march of *Verona*, and the county of *Forum Julii* (Friuli), with the Istrian peninsula. Verona and Friuli were by the emperor united with the duchy of Bavaria, in order that the German feudatories might keep the passes of the Alps open for the passage of the imperial armies. In central Italy, we find the wealthy and powerful counts or marquises of Tuscia, or *Tuscany*, extending from the march of Verona, across the Padus by *Ferrara* and *Modena*, through Tuscany, to the frontiers of the Papal States. This vast and rich territory became, a century later, the celebrated patrimony of Countess Mathildis, and the cause of the violent feuds between the Emperor and Pope. *Florentia* (Florence), the seat of a count, was yet a small town on the Arno. *Pisa*, flourishing by her commerce; *Sena* (Siena); *Canossa*, on the northern slope of Mount Apennine, the strong and celebrated fortress, where Adelheid, the Burgundian princess, sought refuge against king Berengar, and was rescued by Otho the Great. *Garda*, on the lake of the same name, another castle, where Berengar, with great cruelty, had kept the lovely woman a prisoner, until she most ingeniously, with the assistance of a clergyman, escaped in disguise, and threw herself into Canossa. The Patrimonium Sancti Petri, embraced besides the immediate environs of Rome (Latium, Sabini, and Campania,) Southern Tuscany, as far as the river Umbrone, the duchy of *Spoleto*, *Perugia*, and a part of the ancient *Exarchate* on the coast of the Adriatic. Rome had still preserved her municipal government, with all the august but idle titles of antiquity. She extended at that time already beyond the Tiber, Pope Leo IV. having, in 849, built and fortified the *Civitas*

Leonina, around the cathedral of Saint Peter on the Vatican Hill, in order to protect the sanctuary of the apostle against the piratical expeditions of the Saracens.[76] During the tenth century the august capital of the world became the prey to the most violent dissensions between the contending nobles of Spoleto and Tusculum. The papal chair was obtained by open bribery, by violence and assassination, and the meretricious influence of the beautiful countess Theodora, and her still more dangerous daughter Mariuccia, who both swayed pope, prelates, church and all—gave rise to the singular tale about a *female Pope*—the Papess Joan X., about 930! Consul Crescentius, a noble patriot, attempted to restore the ancient Roman republic, but Otho III. descended into Italy, stormed the castle of Sant Angelo, and the Roman hero perished as a martyr for Italian independence, in 998. How forcibly do these remote events remind us of those of our present day! Rome in her ruins was still the most beautiful city in the western world, and the young emperor, in his enthusiasm for southern civilization, resolved already to make her again the capital of his modern Roman empire, when he, in 1002, fell the victim of his attachment to Stephania, the injured widow of Crescentius.

The sword of the German emperors did not reach into Southern Italy. The Greeks having united with the Saracens from Sicily, defeated Otho II. near *Basentello*, on the gulf of

[76] The many pilgrims from the west and north who visited the shrine of the Apostle, had already formed the large and populous suburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were distinguished in the language of the times as the *scholæ* or *vici* of the Lombards, Saxons, or Greeks. This open town was then inclosed within the fortifications of the Castle of Sant Angelo, and called in honor of the enterprising Pope, the *Leonine city*. Great ceremonies took place at the inauguration. "The walls were besprinkled with holy water; the young community was placed under the guardian care of the Apostles and the Angelic hosts, that both the old and the new Rome might ever be preserved prosperous and impregnable."

Tarento, in 982; the German army was cut to pieces, and the German emperor himself escaped only by half a miracle. In the course of time, the Greek cities of *Naples*, *Amalfi*, and *Gaeta*, succeeded in the same manner as Venice, in detaching themselves from the Byzantine empire, and in gradually enlarging their dominion. The principalities of *Benevento*, *Capua*, and *Salerno*, were then the only remains of the kingdom of the Lombards. Apulia and Calabria, the last possessions of the Byzantine emperors in Italy, were governed by *catapans*, or vice-regents, who were continually engaged in hostilities with the Italian princes and republics, and the Saracenic emirs of Sicily, until the appearance of Robert Guiscard and his Norman warriors, in the beginning of the eleventh century, at once changed all the political relations of that terrestrial paradise.

It is in the times of the Saxon emperors—961–1024—that we discover the first formation and early development of the celebrated ITALIAN REPUBLICS, which later perform so brilliant a part in the History of the Middle Ages. The cities of Italy, like those of Germany (245, 216) sought security behind their walls, against the incursions of the Magyars and Saracens; their power increased rapidly; the oppressed from all parts found in them a refuge from their tyrants. These exiles carried with them their industry and their arms, to protect the hospitable community that received them: thus every village became a fortress, and vied with its neighbor in efforts to augment the means for its defence. The dukes, marquises, counts, and prelates, who considered these cities as their property, and the citizens as their vassals, soon perceived that they had already broken their chains. The nobles then left their residences in the towns, which had become disagreeable to them, and retired to their castles. But they became sensible that to defend these castles they had need of men devoted to them; that notwithstanding the advantage which their heavy armor gave them when fighting on horseback, they were

the minority, and they hastened to enfranchise the rural population, to give them arms, and to gain their affections, by granting them protection and lands. The effect of this change of system was rapid, and soon produced in Northern Italy a new state of society: the Lombard free towns, and the landed nobility, who, in pursuing their opposite interests, sided, the former with the Italian pope, and the latter with the German emperor, and reappear two centuries later, in the protracted struggle of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

During the period of the Saxon and Franconian dynasties (973–1039) it became the custom for the German kings, at the head of their feudal armies, to undertake a visit or campaign into Italy (*der Römer-zug*), to take the imperial crown at Rome, and call together the states of Lombardy at Roncaglia, on the banks of the Po, near Placentia. There the emperors received the homage from their Italian feudatories, had their laws for their Italian government promulgated, and their treasury filled with Italian gold pieces. But the diets or *placita* of Roncaglia became in the course of time a mere formality: after a stay of some months, occupied with tournaments and festivals, the Germans recrossed the mountains; the Italian nobles retired to their castles, the prelates and magistrates to their cities. These acknowledging no authority superior to their own, and being left to themselves, must necessarily come into collision—a collision occasioning a continual petty warfare between the prelates, supported by the cities on the one side, and the nobles aided by their vassals on the other. Italy remained in this state until 1039, when Conrad the Salic put an end to these troubles by that constitution, which became the basis of the feudal law during the following century. By this the inheritance of the fiefs was protected from the caprices of the lords, and of the crown; the *heer-ban* of the seven banners, who were to follow the emperor, was instituted on less oppressive conditions; the remaining slaves of the land were set free; and Italy began to enjoy a comparative tranquillity until it was involved in the

great contest about the investitures between Gregory VII and Henry IV. towards the close of the century.

XI.—Kingdom of the Hungarians.

253. Their Origin and Conquests.—The great empire of the Avars (149) had been dissolved partly by the defeats they suffered from the Franks under Charlemagne in 799–803, and partly by the invasion of the Bulgarians, who occupied their seats in Pannonia, when, about the year 855, another barbarous nation from the distant east, the Ugri, Hungri, or, as they called themselves, Magyars, made their appearance on the Carpathian mountains. They were originally an eastern Finnish tribe, whose home was Ugria on Mount Oural.[77] During the great migration of the Tartaric Sclavonian nations in the fifth century, they followed their neighbors, the Bulgarians, on their march southward. For a length of time, they remained on the lower Volga and the Caspian Sea, but having been dislodged by the Petcheneges, and defeated by the Russians under Ruric, in their attempt to ascend that river, they were obliged to turn westward.[78] Their wild hordes of cavalry, followed by trains of carts with their families, crossed the Dniester and Dnieper, and spreading through the open plains of Dacia, they united there with the relics of the vanquished Avars. Thus strengthened in number, and led on by their new allies, they penetrated through the defiles of the Carpathian mountains, fell suddenly upon the newly settled Bulgarians, whom they forced quickly to recross the Danube

[77] *Ugria*, in the Sclavonic language, signifies fallow land, untilled soil, steppe, or prairie; thus the nomadic inhabitants on Mount Oural were called Uhori, Ugri, Ungri, or Hungri, and by the monkish writers of the time, Hungari, that is, nomades, or vagrants.

[78] Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives some interesting details on the first settlement of the Hungarians in Avaria (Pannonia), but he knows them only by the name of Turks, and calls their country Turkey.—*De Administrando Imperio*, cap. 38.

and advanced westward, occupying all the country between the mountains and the Theiss. There, on the plains between that river and the Maros, were seen the filthy camps of nearly a million of unknown barbarians. The ancient Magyars, like the Huns, whom they resembled in ferocity, were divided into divisions or swarms, each consisting of thirty thousand horsemen, commanded by *Voivods*, who had elected the brave and experienced Arpad as their *great Chan* or commander-in-chief.

The Hungarians, though Finns by descent, were a handsome race, possessed of excellent qualities; but their first appearance in Europe inspired a terror and disgust hardly less than that of the Huns themselves. They were a nomadic people; they fed on horseflesh; they were covered with skins of wild animals, though they wore heavy armor made of iron from the mines of Mount Oural. Like the Tartars, they adorned their long lances with streamers or flags of brilliant colors, which, when whirled in the air, and accompanied by their piercing yells, spread panic and dismay among the German cavalry who were daring enough to oppose their progress. Yet their most terrible weapons were bows and arrows. They fought only on horseback. Their rapidity, impetuosity, and cruelty, rendered them irresistible, and almost incredible were the devastation, bloodshed, and misery which this nation for one entire century, from 855 to 955, brought over every part of central and southern Europe. The nobler qualities of the Magyar character have developed themselves later, after their conversion to Christianity in A. D. 1000. Yet even in their heathen darkness, they were not entirely devoid of principles of justice and faith in their plighted word. They possessed remarkable talents for mechanics, manufacturing, and arts; agriculture soon began to flourish on the fertile plains of the Theiss and the Danube, and they distinguished themselves in different directions from all the other Turkish tribes of the east. The warlike disposition and natural ferocity of the Magyars never left them in after times, but they served most happily to make that nation a bulwark for Germany and Europe on the walls of Belgrade against the Ottoman Turks.

Suddenly arriving in Avaria—by themselves called *Magyar Orszag*—the present Hungary—they immediately subdued the Bulgarian and Sclavonian tribes. On the banks of the Theiss they made a halt, no doubt afraid of invading the civilized Carlovingian empire beyond that river. Here, to their astonishment, embassies from the Greek emperor in Constantinople, requested their aid against the Bulgarians south of the Danube. Nay, envoys from the German emperor himself, and from his rebellious border-counts, the Moravian margraves, implored their assistance the one against the other. Terrible was the responsibility of the Carlovingian emperor Arnulf, in calling in the Hungarians; they came; they spread devastation, not only in Moravia, where they exterminated the inhabitants, but they hurried south through the defiles of the Alps, and defeated the Italian counts on the plains of Lombardy. Returning again through Bavaria, the burning villages along the Rhine, and in the heart of Lorraine beyond that river, proclaimed in flaming characters the degradation of Germany. It was not until the reign of the brave Henry I. of Saxony, in 93~~0~~4, that the Magyars were checked in the terrible battle at Merseburg, and their army at last defeated and destroyed in so thorough a manner by the great Otho, on the *Lech-field* in 955, that the seven fugitives who returned to Hungary to tell the woful tale, caused the Magyars to relinquish their inhuman warfare, and never again to invade Germany. The thousands of men, women, and children taken prisoners by them, contributed much to their civilization; Christianity advanced it still farther; and here it was again a woman—the celebrated Hungarian Princess Sarolta, who wielded her sword and mounted her steed as boldly as the best Magyar—that was converted and persuaded her yielding husband, King Geisa, in 973, to be baptized in the Christian faith. King Stephen I. (997–1038) effected—after great opposition however—the general introduction of Christianity among those barbarians. STRIGONIUM (Gran), on the Danube, became the archiepiscopal see for the

ten dioceses which were established. The Latin language was adopted by the king and nobility, and a regular government soon effected a change in the manners and character of the Magyars. The kingdom became then divided into seventy-two *comitatus* or counties, and the feudal system, with military tenures, was introduced. The Magyars formed the army; the poor Sclavonian subjects were treated like serfs, and kept in degrading subjection. The Magyars occupied the whole of modern Hungary; on the north they bordered on Poland and Moravia, on the west their confines reached the Austrian marches; on the south the Danube separated them from the great Bulgarian kingdom, and on the east the Carpathian range protected them against the still more terrible Petcheneges, then in their most formidable power. The Magyars lived mostly in villages, and few cities were founded during this period.

BUDA-PESTH, the ancient Acincum (35, 179), on both banks of the Danube, once the site of the camp of Attila and of the Avars, became the capital of the Arpadian dynasty of Hungary On the plain east of the Danube, the Magyar nobility on horse back in complete armor, assembled at their national diet, where the laws were sanctioned, and all political questions decided. This was the celebrated FIELD OF RAKOS. WISSEGRAD and COMORN were strong fortresses on the Danube. ALBA REALIS (Weissenburg), on the southwest. POSONY, *Preciburg*, Presburg, on the Austrian frontiers. The Carpathian defiles were protected by the Magyar tribe of the SZEKLERS, that is, *borderwardens*, who still, to this day, are the fiercest hussars in the world.

XII. CHANATE OF THE PETCHENEGES.

254. THEIR TERRITORY, CONQUESTS, AND DESTRUCTION.—The PETCHENEGES—*Patzinaks*, *Patzinakitæ*, or *Bitchenak*, as the Byzantine historians call them, were a Tartaric tribe from the steppes between the Yaik and the Volga. Having been driven from their home by their eastern neighbors, the Kumani,

they, about the middle of the ninth century, fell upon the Magyars, themselves the subjects of the Chazars, whom they vanquished, and forced to flee westward. The Petcheneges pursued them across the Dniester, Dnieper, and Pruth, to the foot of the Carpathian mountains. Here they stopped: other tribes joined the first, and for more than two centuries this disgusting people occupied the whole immense territory from the Don and the Donetz all along the shores of the Black Sea, throughout the Walachian plains to the Aluta. This territory they divided among their eight numerous hordes, which were subdivided into forty smaller clans. Four of the Petchenege hordes occupied the pasture lands on the east of the Dnieper; the other four on the west.[79] Their chiefs were hereditary chans, their nobles were called *kangars*. They extended on the north to the waterfalls of the Dniester, where they carried on a continual war with the Russians; on the south they crossed the Danube, and devastated every part of Macedonia and Thrace; the Greeks were in despair; they attempted to pay them off, but by their glittering Byzants excited their thirst for gold still more; a civil war among the Barbarians saved Alexius; Chan Kegen, a distinguished Petchenege, fled the country, was converted, and, at the head of the Greek army in 1050, he defeated his countrymen, and settled part of them at Moglena in Macedonia. Yet other hordes still continued their incursions, until in 1122 they were attacked at the same time by the Kumani and Uzi, their ancient rivals on the Volga, and by Kalo-Johannes, the great emperor. By well concerted manœuvres, the monsters were entrapped at last;

[79] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his lively description of their country, which he calls *Patzinakia*, mentions the barbarous names of their tribes, such as *Bulat-zospon*, *Giazi-chopon*, *Syrukalpeï*, and *Gyla*, between the Danube and the Don, and defines their frontiers as bordering westward on the *Turks* (Hungarians), north on the Slavic tribes of the *Lenzenii*, *Derblenians* (Drewliani), and *Russians*, and east on the Kumani and Uzi in Chazaria, beyond the *Atil* (Volga), and on the *Alans* still residing in the plains on the Kuban north of Mount Caucasus.

there was no help for them; they were exterminated with the edge of the sword, and never appear again in history. The Petcheneges are described as the most beastly and disgusting wretches that ever lived; they were faithless and perfidious; their avarice was insatiable; their passions brutish; their favorite food the raw flesh of cats, rats, foxes, wolves; they wore long hair and beards, and flowing garments, like the Tartars, whose language they spoke. The Petcheneges never quitted their steeds; they formed myriads of cavalry, and were as rapid in their charges as the arrows they shot off; no spark of humanity, no ray of cultivation ever reached them; their detested name appears on every page of the Byzantine historians from the eleventh century; and the German monks, in their chronicles, never omit, when speaking of them, to add the epithets of *pessimi* and *vilissimi*. Their villages or hut-built towns, were called *katai;* they had some agriculture on the Danube, and a lively trade with Cherson, Theodosia, and other Greek cities on the Black Sea. They sold their cattle to the Russians, and bartered their plunder for all sorts of Eastern luxuries, such as purple vestments, silken dresses, precious furs, and aromatics. After the dispersion of their hordes, some Petchenege stragglers were incorporated into the Greek armies of the Comnenian emperors, in which they rendered good service; and King Zultan of Hungary formed a colony of these monsters on his western frontiers, in order to frighten the Germans.

§ III. SOUTHERN EUROPE.

XIII. The Kingdom of Leon.

255. Extent and Principal Cities.—The kingdom of Leon was, in the tenth century, one of the four Christian states which had formed themselves in the north of the Spanish peninsula. It occupied the northwestern angle of Spain, and extended along the Durius (Duero) eastward to the Piscorica (Pisuerga),

a tributary of that river, and the eastern frontier toward Castile. North of the Asturian ridge the border ran west of the Deba to the promontory San Prieto, on the Gulf of Biscay, *Mare Cantabricum.* The southern frontier was very unsettled, on account of the continual wars with the Saracens; the banks of the Duero were protected by numerous castles, and the Christian knights extended their conquests south to the Mondego, nay, they reached even the Tagus; they occupied temporarily Lissabon, and descended the Djebal Scharrat (Guadarama) to the plain of *Medchellet* (Magerita), now Madrid, then a small Arabian town; but they could not get any firm footing, and the uncertainty of the occupation caused this region to be called *extrema Durii*, which is the origin of the present appellation of Estremadura. The descendants of Pelayo had transferred their capital from Gijon on the seacoast to Oviedo (217). Their small territory extended with their victories, and under the valiant Ordoño II., the fourteenth king of Gothia, Leon became, in 918, the royal residence. During this period Gallicia, Asturia, Leon, and Old Castile became united; but the danger of the approaching storm roused the Arabs to renewed activity. Al Manzor, the vizier of Caliph Hashem II. entered the mountains, in 990, with a numerous army; the city of Leon and even the venerated shrine of Santiago de Compostela were burnt to the ground, and the Moors planted their crescent-banner on the Asturian coast. But this effort of the Mohammedans was the last; they were totally routed in the chivalrous battles of Kula'at-Anosor in 998, and at Osma in 1001; and the subsequent union of the kingdom of Leon with the independent county of Castile in 1038, by the marriage of Don Fernando of Castile with Doña Sancha, the sister of King Bermudo III. of Leon, secured henceforth the frontier line of the Duero. OVETUM (Oviedo), the ancient capital, on a steep hill that rises in the midst of an undulating plain between the Nōra and the Nalon. *Cangas de Onis*, on the Cella, stands at a short distance from the Abbey of our Lady of Cavadonga, which occupies the site where Pelayo in 712 first

planted the standard of independence. *Santiago de Compostela*, with its magnificent cathedral, its saints, treasury, pilgrimages, and superstition. *Asturica* (Astorga). Braga. *Zamora* on the northern bank of the Duero, where, on the *Campi Gothici*, north of the city, so many bloody battles were fought between Christians and Moslems during the tenth century. *Carrion*, on the river of the same name, where King Bermudo III. fell in battle against his brother-in-law, Don Fernando of Castile, in 1037. The ancient Visigothic institutions were still preserved in their antiquated forms, although the frequent wars had given extension to the royal authority, The diets continued to be assembled in Oviedo; the habits of the people were still austere and warlike, yet a chivalrous character was perceptible, which communicated itself to the Saracens on the frontiers, and produced the most romantic instances of brilliant valor, tender love, and religious fanaticism.

XIV. County of Castile.

256. Origin, Extent, and Cities.—Castile is said to have been so called from the great number of castles—*castillos*—which were its means of defence against the Moors, and the residences of petty princes whom ambition armed against one another. Many Goths had retreated into the mountains north of the Tagus, where, in the beginning of the tenth century, the Counts of Burgos extended their power, and though they, for a while, acknowledged the supremacy of the neighboring Kings of Leon, they soon after their victories over the Moors, declared themselves independent. King Ordoño II. assassinated the haughty Count Nuño Fernandez of Castile, but this criminal act produced a revolution among the Castilians, who, in 933, maintained their independence. The wars with the Moors continued; the Duero became the permanent frontier, and in 1038, Castile was united with Leon to the great advantage of both. *Burgos*, a dark, old-fashioned city, abounding in convents and sanctuaries; the cathedral is one of the oldest

and most elegant Gothic churches in Spain. *Oxima* (Osma) and *Kula'at-Anosor*, celebrated by victories which the Christians here gained over the Moslems.

XV. Kingdom of Navarra.

257. Origin, Extent, and Division.—The realm of *Navarra* or Pampiluna, which comprised *Biscaya* (Viscaya), on the north, and *Aragon* on the east, extended along the Gulf of Biscay and the Pyrenees, somewhat south of the sources of the Ebro, to those of the river Aragon, a tributary of the former. Though the Arabs, at the time of their settlement in Spain, did not succeed in subduing the Visigoths in their northwestern strongholds of the Asturian mountains, they soon appeared on the Ebro, occupied *Cæsaraugusta* (Zaragoza), and forcing the northeastern defiles of the Pyrenees invaded France, and settled in Septimania (158). Yet the Saracen *wâlis* or governors, in their rebellions against the Ommiyad emirs of Cordova, called to their assistance the victorious arms of Pepin-le-Bref and Charlemagne, who, as we have seen (184), formed the border province of the Spanish marches south of the mountains. It consisted of the *Marca Navarrensis*, the *Comitatus Jaccensis* (Jaca), *Ripacurciæ* (Ribagorza), and *Barcinonæ* (Barcelona), which did not extend south to the valley of the Ebro, still in the possession of the Arabs. During the disorders which disturbed the Carlovingian empire in the ninth century, the border counts in the Pyrenees made themselves independent of the French crown. Garsias Arista took, about 850, the royal title; his successors ruled until the year 1000, and in successful wars against the Moors, they extended their territory over the greater part of Aragon. Sancho III., *el Mayor*, an excellent chief, divided his kingdom between his four sons in 1033; and we find at that time the following provinces under the crown of Navarra:

I. The kingdom of Pampiluna (Pamplona, with Cantabria (Najara, Rioja), south, on the Ebro. Pamplona, on

the Arga, was the capital. *Logroño*, on the Ebro. II. The county of ARAGON on the east, with the strong city of *Jaca* commanding the plains. III. SOBRARBE, farther east, under the highest pinnacles of the Pyrenees. IV. RIBAGORZA, with the county of Pallars, which had been wrested from the French. V. VISCAYA (Vascongadas), on the west of Navarra, divided into the three Basque provinces, BISCAYA, ALAVA, and IPUSCOA, (Guipuzcoa). This was the rugged home of the old *Cantabri*, who made such a gallant stand against the Romans, and preserved their independence until the time of Augustus. Their descendants, the Basques, are still distinguished by their activity and bravery, and have found in their unfruitful soil the palladium of their liberty. VICTORIA (Vitoria), the capital, was the place where King Sancho defeated the Arabs; it lies in a fertile plain surrounded by magnificent scenery. The Vascongadas and Rioja fell to Castile in 1200.

The Counts of BARCELONA in *Catalonia* (Gotholaunia) had become independent of France toward the close of the ninth century. The Catalonians were early distinguished by commerce and warlike adventures through the whole Mediterranean Sea; their history is very interesting, and they became a powerful nation when their Count Raymond Berengar obtained by marriage the throne of Aragon, A. D. 1137.

XVI. CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA.

258. EXTENT, DIVISION, AND PRINCIPAL CITIES.—Since the establishment of the emirate of Cordova by the Ommiyad, Abd-er-Raman, in 755, the Arabs had suffered many defeats by the Asturian heroes; but they soon recovered the lost territory, and during the whole of the ninth century, the Duero and the valley of the Ebro remained the contested frontier line between the two races. Nineteen caliphs of the Ommiyad dynasty ruled in Spain (Andalos) from 755 to 1038, when that family became extinct on the death of Hashem IV. It

was the most brilliant period in the annals of the Arabian nation, and the Spanish cities were then adorned with those master works of Saracenic architecture, mosques, alcazars, aqueducts, baths, and other public buildings, the ruins of which are still the admiration of the present day. The reign of Abd-er-Rhaman III. (912–961) is the period of the highest development of Arabian civilization, literature, and art in Spain; and the Caliph was as distinguished for his brilliant valor against the Gothic princes in the battles at Zamora on the Duero, as for the amiable qualities of his mind and heart. His worthy son, Al-Hakim II., followed (961–976) in the steps of his father; with him the enthusiasm for books, science, poetry, history, and natural philosophy, became a violent passion. We read with astonishment in Conde of the seventy libraries, seventeen Mohammedan universities and high schools of learning; of the six large and flourishing capitals of the Walis: *Korthoba* (Cordova), *Elbira* (Grenada), *Ischbilia* (Seville), *Tholaithala* (Toledo), *Sarakostha* (Zaragoza), and *Djesh-Shukar* (Valencia); of eighty cities of a second rank; of the three hundred smaller towns, and the twelve thousand hamlets situated on the charming banks of the Guadalquiver alone. In Korthoba were six hundred mosques, fifty hospitals for benevolent purposes, nine hundred public baths; the yearly revenues of the caliphate amounted to twelve millions of gold pieces without the contributions of the *alcabala* and *almojarifazgo*. Agriculture, irrigation, and gardening progressed equally with the literature and philosophical cultivation of that period. The bravery, piety, and romantic amours of the Spanish knights excited the noblest emulation among the Moslem cavaliers, vanquished the prejudices of the Koran, and raised the Saracen woman to a standard of esteem and admiration which she never enjoyed in the East. It was during this period, when were called forth those warlike virtues which will ever glitter in its beautiful ballads and romances, that on the frontiers of the contending Christian and Mohammedan nations, two singular races of men arose—the Moslem *Rabites* and the Christian

Almugavares. They were warriors (guerillas) or borderers, who lived by the sword as wardens of the frontiers, and, in their armature, tactics, and manners, formed the most curious contrast. During their alternate hostility and friendly intercourse with each other, those fantastical ideas of politics, religion, and customs originated, which we, a century later, meet again on the shores of Palestine among the crusading Templars, the Syrian Pulani, and the Circassian Mamlukes.

XVII. Emirate of Sicily and the Smaller Islands.

259. The Aglabid Dynasty on the Islands.—At the beginning of the ninth century, most of the larger islands of the Mediterranean were occupied by Saracen corsairs—Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, Sardinia, the Baleares, Corsica, fell into their power—yet none became so flourishing as Sikiliah (Sicily), which, in 826, was invaded by the Aglabid king, Ziade-tallah I., of Magrab, in northern Africa, and remained under the sway of the Fatimid dynasty, which succeeded in 940, until the conquest of the island by Count Roger, the Norman, in 1069. Sicily had already for a long time been exposed to the piratical descents of the Arabs, before they were invited as auxiliaries of the Greek general, Empedocles, in the year 826, during his rebellion against the Emperor Michael the Stammerer. The Arabs answered readily to the appeal. Hassan-Ben-el-Térath landed on the island, and a bloody war commenced, which continued for many years, and terminated with the conquest of Palermo and Syracuse by the Aglabid warriors of Tunis, who changed the whole splendid island into an Arabian emirate;[80] yet the inhabitants retained their old rights

[80] Of the capture of Syracuse we have an interesting account from an eye-witness (A. D. 880): "Theodosius, the monk, sends his salutation to Leo, the archdeacon. We have held out ten months, during which time we have fought often by day and many times by night, by water, by land, and under the ground. The grass which grows upon the roofs

and privileges, and soon acquired an affection for their Moslem conquerors on account of their just and creditable government and unusual liberal views in religious matters. Beneath the mild sway of the Aglabids and Fatimid chiefs (caliphs), a multitude of Arabic cities and castles rose in the island; splendid manufactures were established, and the rich soil was carefully cultivated. The sugar-cane was transplanted from Egypt, manna from Persia, and cotton from Asia Minor. The olive-tree was sedulously tended, and propagated all over the island; commerce flourished; numbers of merchant vessels daily arrived or departed from the different Sicilian ports laden with rich cargoes. The objects of magnificence and luxury which commerce brought together, served in part to embellish the Saracenic castles, which were besides enriched with the treasures and precious booty carried home by the Arabic corsairs from their predatory excursions on all the Italian coasts.

SARDINIA, CORSICA, and the BALEARIC Islands were at the same time occupied by the Zeirites, who had formed another powerful empire—A. D. 960—ruling the extensive coasts of

was our food, and we caused the bones of animals to be powdered, in order to use them for meat. At length children were eaten, and terrible diseases were the consequence of famine. Confiding in the security of our towers, we hoped to hold out until we received succor; the strongest of our towers was overthrown, and we still resisted for three weeks. In an instant when, exhausted by heat, our warriors took respite, a general storm was made on a sudden by the Maugrebin, and the town was taken. We fled into the church of St. Salvator; the enemy followed us, and bathed his sword in the blood of our magistrates, priests, monks, old men, women, and children; a thousand in number were put to death before the town; the governor, Nicetas of Tarsus, was tortured; the houses were burnt, the acropolis destroyed. On the day when they celebrated Abraham's sacrifice (Balram), the monsters wished to burn us with the bishop; but an old emir of great authority saved us. This is written at Palermo, fourteen feet under ground, among innumerable captives—Jews, Africans, Lombards, Christian and unchristian people, whites and Moors."

Africa, after the concentration of the Fatimid caliphs in Cairo in Egypt.

XVIII. Kingdom of Croatia.

260. Extent and Principal Cities.—The Sclavonic nation of the Chrobats (Croats) had occupied the coast lands of Dalmatia in 628 (196), where they, under their Zupanies or chiefs, recognized the sovereignty of Charlemagne (187). But about the year 970, during the reign of the emperor Otho the Great, they suddenly appear as a powerful nation, under the sway of a *Weliki Zupan* or Grand Duke, who could muster 150,000 horse and foot in the field, and extended his conquests along the coast and the numerous isles of the Adriatic Gulf. Every Croat was a born soldier. Christianity soon spread among them, and brought them into friendly relations with the islanders. Yet the great Croatian kingdom did not maintain itself; the different Croatian tribes quarrelled among themselves. The sly and active Venetian republicans planted the banner of Saint Marc on the towers of Yadra (Zara), Sebenigo, and other towns; they made Spalatro their commercial emporium, and when King Koloman appeared with his Hungarian cavalry in 1102, the Croatians were speedily brought to that subjection under the Magyar rod, from which we have seen them make a desperate effort to deliver themselves, so late as 1848.

The great *Zupanate* of Croatia comprised the regions situated between the coast of the Adriatic Gulf, the Drave, and the Danube, until its junction with the Save. Posega in Sclavonia, and Dresnec southwest, were the most important cities. Narenta, on the coast, was inhabited by a band of independent corsairs, who, in the earlier period, made their name feared all along the coasts of the Adriatic.

XIX. Byzantine Empire.

261. Extent, Imperial Court, and Administration.—The latter years of the reign of Otho the Great—963–973—present some of the most brilliant pages in the annals of the eastern Roman empire. The warlike Nicephorus Phocas had crossed Mount Taurus, and reconquered Antioch and northern Syria from the Arabs in 968, and his murderer and successor, the crafty, but talented John Tzimisces, vanquished the Russians, reduced the powerful kingdom of Bulgaria to a dependent province of the empire, and led his victorious army beyond the Euphrates, to the distant plains of Mesopotamia, while the helpless Caliph fled trembling to his sanctuaries in Bagdad. The greater part of these extensive conquests were soon lost after the return of the mighty warrior; but Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the isles of Cyprus and Crete, remained a permanent and important accession to the Roman Empire. We find its frontiers, A. D. 973, almost the same as in the second period, on the accession of Justinian in 527: on the north the Euxine Sea, the Danube, the Save, and the Drinus; on the west and south the Mediterranean; and on the east the upper Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and Mount Caucasus; thus embracing within the eastern Roman frontiers part of northern Syria, part of Mesopotamia, Great Armenia, Iberia, Lazica, and the coast lands of Mount Caucasus. Constantinople had passed through the most frightful vicissitudes since we left her toward the close of the sixth century. She had seen the immense armies of the Persian Chosroës encamped along the Bosphorus in 616–621; she had heroically repelled the Saracens from her walls in 668–675, and burnt their entire armada with her Greek fire in 716. Her sufferings had been increased by the internal disturbances between the fanatic *image-worshippers*—εἰκονοδοῦλοι—and *image-breakers*—εἰκονοκλάσται, and by the loss of nearly all her European provinces through the continual

invasions of the Sclavonian and Tartaric hordes from the Danube; while the bigotry and arrogance of her hierarchy, the sloth or incapacity of several of her emperors, and the general luxury and degeneracy of her inhabitants at different periods, would, to a distant observer, have seemed to forebode a speedy catastrophe. Yet her splendid position and impregnable walls, the wonderful pliancy and vitality of the Greek race, and the many distinguished minds which successively appeared in the moment of danger, carried her victoriously through all these vicissitudes. Brighter days began to dawn on the venerable metropolis of the civilized world, on the accession of Basilius the Macedonian, in 867. During the sway of the Macedonian dynasty—867–1056—active and enlightened monarchs, brave and daring generals, and intelligent statesmen, restored and strengthened the sinking empire. The ancient Roman ideas, language, and institutions have now vanished; the Byzantine-Greek period has begun, and a general amelioration, a greater activity in the administration, a stricter economy in the treasury, a better organization of the army, and a more liberal diplomacy with foreign states, becomes distinctly perceptible. Friendly embassies are sent to Charlemagne and the great caliph Haroun-ar-Raschid in Bagdad. Byzantine princesses are given in marriage to foreign princes; Theophania, the daughter of the Emperor Romanus II., marries Otho II. of Germany; and her sister Anna, as the wife of the Grand-Duke Wladimir, carries civilization to Russia. All the Sclavonian tribes, which, during the storms of the seventh and eighth centuries, had settled in Greece—in the peninsula of Peloponnesus (Morea), and in Northern Hellas—have been christianized, hellenized, and brought to the allegiance of the empire (198); and so have the Bulgarians in Macedonia, and the Servians in western Illyricum. Treaties of commerce are contracted with the flourishing cities in Italy; the Sclavonic nations on the Danube carry the precious Byzantine silk and wool manufactures to the markets of Germany, while Cherson, on the Taurian peninsula, becomes the great emporium for the exports of the south to Russia and the distant countries on the Baltic.

262. CONSTANTINOPLE was still the most magnificent city in Christendom; she still possessed the civilization and wealth of the ancient Roman Empire, and was the great emporium of eastern commerce.[81] The influence of the Greek Church, and of the Justinian legislation had, however, rendered the imperial government a perfect despotism. The emperor had the title of αὐτοκράτωρ; the princes or co-regents were called *Augusti*, or σεβαστοί. The imperial costume was splendid—purple and gold; the entire court officials were dressed in white. The senate had lost its prerogatives and power; οἱ λογάδες, or the elect, formed a committee of its members, sometimes called together on pompous occasions. The imperial council, *consistorium principis*, or in the corrupt Greek of that period, τὸ βασιλικὸν Σεκρέτον, was arbitrarily nominated by the emperor among his confidential friends and favorites. The strictest etiquette was observed among the courtiers and officials in their different subordinate ranks. The sons-in-law of the emperor had the supervision of the numerous imperial palaces, as *curopalates*, or ἐπίτροποι; thirty *silentiarii* took care of the internal order, in which they were assisted by the loathsome eunuchs—οἱ καρτζιμάδες—who already had obtained so baneful an influence, that they ranked among the patricians—οἱ πατρίκιοι εὐνούχοι, and aspired to the highest dignities in the state; nay, these wretches even entered the church, they became patriarchs, and the eunuch monks paraded as πρωτοψάλται, or choristers, at the pompous religious festivals. The emperors were fettered down to the most ridiculous ceremo-

[81] Benjamin de Tudela, the celebrated Jewish traveller, who visited Constantinople in the twelfth century, bursts forth in rapture at the display of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," he says, "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the Eastern Empire are annually deposited, and the lofty towers are filled with precious deposits of silk, purple, and gold. It is here that the sovereign every day receives twenty thousand gold pieces, which are levied on the stores, taverns, and bazaars, on the merchants of Persia and Egypt, of Russia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent the brilliant capital by sea and land."

nial, which necessarily must have crushed their noblest dispositions and talents; but it was only by thus shrouding themselves from the mass of the people, and making a pompous show of their wealth and power to the foreign nations, that they still could be regarded as the legitimate rulers of the civilized world.[82] Charlemagne they recognized as Emperor of the West; but Otho the Great they treated disdainfully, as a barbarian usurper, until the German sword swept away their

[82] The ceremony of the reception of foreign ambassadors, took place in the gorgeous hall of the Chrysotriclinium, forming part of the great Augusteum palace, between the Cathedral of Sancta Sophia and the Hippodrome. There, the emperor, on his golden throne, in his snow-white tunic, purple mantle, and purple buskins, receives the foreign ambassadors, who, passing through endless files of body guards and household officers, all dressed in the most brilliant variety of armor and court-dresses, beneath colonnades, hung with trophies, embroidered drapery and waving banners, on a road covered with Persian carpets, or strown over with roses, myrtle, and oleander, at last enter the golden palace of the Empress and imperial princesses. Sweet perfumes breathe fragrance around; and when the astonished barbarians ascend the last marble stairs of the audience hall, and at the signal of the master of ceremonies the curtains and hangings disappear on high, and they behold the handsome emperor and his beautiful queen, surrounded by a glittering court, they almost involuntarily kneel down in admiration. But a new surprise awaits them. The silver and golden lions, gigantic beasts, adorning the flanks of the throne, spring forward on their hind legs, and begin to roar furiously, while thousands of artificial birds of various colors and plumage flit about on the branches of an immense golden palm-tree overshadowing the imperial throne, and mingle their songs with the clangor of the trumpets and the roaring of the lions.

The poor barbarians, Tartars, Sclavonians or Chazars, lie now prostrate on their faces, and have entirely lost their wits. Even the bold German knights, who hitherto have despised all the pomp, begin to tremble, and what is worse, *forget their speeches*. How the merry empress and her lively Greek court ladies enjoy the embarrassment and awkward superstition of those barbarians, who, if not kept at bay by the tricks, the ingenuity, and superior civilization of Constantinople, might arise in their might, and with one blow dash the whole fragile vessel of the empire into a thousand fragments.

possessions in Italy. The support of such a court required the most exorbitant taxation; and, indeed, never was a government known so ingeniously to oppress the poor toiling nation as the Byzantine, with its tolls, collections, gifts, duties, customs, house-taxes—*τὸ καπνικόν*—income-assessments—*περισσοπράκτια*—stamp duties—*χαρτιατικόν*, and fifty others. The gold byzants—*ὑπέρπερα*—*byzantini*—ruled the world then, as a century ago, the Spanish *doubloons*, and at the present day, the American *eagles*. The financial administratiou seems to have been the most complex and important branch of the public service. The emperors always reserved to themselves the immediate direction of this department; but they did not omit to give their full attention to the army, as is proved by the interesting work of Leo VI. on that subject. Many reforms had been undertaken in the organization of the Greek armies, since the time of Belisarius and Narses under Justinian I. The most select bodies of troops consisted of the imperial life-guards, the celebrated bands of the northern warriors: the *Varanghi* (226), to whose care the person of the emperor, and the guard of the palace and treasury were intrusted.[88] Then followed in rank the *Persarmenian*, *Chazar*, and *Avar* guards, all in their national costume and armor. The throne being thus protected by foreign swords, the Byzantine army itself was organized for the defence of the frontiers of the empire. The native troops raised in the provinces were formed into one hundred and thirty-two legions or *themes*—*θέματα*—each of a thousand or fifteen hundred men. The most celebrated of the European themes were the Thracian, Macedonian, and Illyrian, whose

[88] The Varanghians, who were the leading corps of the imperial guards, suffered none but Scandinavians in their ranks; while the less favored corps were composed promiscuously, of Franks, Russians, and other Sclavonians. It was not until after the battle of Hastings, in 1066, and the subjection of England under the iron rod of William the Conqueror, that numbers of Anglo-Saxons, fleeing the oppression at home, emigrated to Constantinople, where they, as brethren of the Northmen, were permitted to enter the ranks of the Varanghi.

ranks were filled with Sclavonian, Wallachian, Bulgarian, and Albanian mountaineers. The Greek cavalry which had adopted the armature of the Avars (149) was numerous, on account of the continual equestrian warfare with the Tartars on the Danube, and with the Saracens in the east. The Byzantine commanders and officers had pompous and barbarous titles; generals, στρατεγοί—colonels, μοιράρχαι, δρουγγάριοι—ensigns, or dragon-bearers, δρακοντειοφόροι—*draconarii*. The foot was marshalled in eight lines, the horse in four; their flanks were covered with rear-guards—πλαγιοφύλακες; squadrons of light horse—ὑπερκεράσται—were sent round to outflank the enemy; skirmishers—κουρσόρες, and spies—σκουλκατόρες—were scouring the environs of the camp. The baggage was called τούλδον; the pay, ῥόγα; their exercises and manœuvres were superintended by the *magnus drungarius*. Constantinople had excellent manufactures of arms, and the crusaders, two centuries later, were astonished at the pomp of the Byzantine armies; but the weapons of the Greek warriors were of a better temper than their courage.[84] The high admiral of the fleet, the grand duke—ὁ μέγας δοῦξ—commanded the numerous divisions of battle ships and galleys—ἀγράρια, and δρομόνες—which were distributed in the magnificent ports on the Euxine, the Bosphorus, and the islands of the Mediterranean.[85] Yet the greatest art, ingenuity, and excellence did the Byzantine Greeks display in their fortifications, and the artillery or

[84] In spite of all the show and glitter of their armies, the Greeks enjoyed but little credit with the knights of western Europe. The envoy of Otho the Great, Bishop Luitprand, of Cremona, who has left us an interesting description of his embassy to the Court of Nicephorus Phocas, says: "that the emperor was surrounded by dastard sycophants and parasites; that the whole city floated in voluptuousness; that the strength of the imperial government rested on the battle-axes of the Northmen of the body-guard; for I firmly believe," says the lively Bishop-Envoy, "that four hundred German knights, in the open field, would put the whole Greek army completely to flight."

[85] During the reign of Leo VI., the Byzantine fleet consisted of 60 *dromones*, each manned by 230 rowers and 70 warriors.

engines by which they were defended. It was the terrible Greek fire—τὸ ὑγρὸν πῦρ—the invention of the Syrian engineer, Kallinikos, which in 668, and 718, had saved Constantinople, during the sieges of the fanatic Saracens. This naphtha, or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil, mingled with sulphur and pitch, they launched through iron tubes, from the walls or ships, with the most destructive effect, on the works or shipping of the terrified enemy. That invention has perished with the middle ages, but we still admire at the present day the solid and magnificent walls, towers, sally-gates and subterraneous passages, aqueducts, and cisterns, reared on hundreds of columns, in Constantinople, Antioch, and many other places.

263. Military Division of the Provinces and Frontiers of the Empire.—The changes which the Byzantine government had undergone since the times of Justinian, rendered a new provincial division necessary; and we find in the tenth century the empire divided into twenty-nine districts, *themes*—Θέματα—with regard to administration and military defence. The exact period when the ancient Roman præfectures and provinces were superseded by the themes, is not known; yet it appears certain that these existed in part already in the seventh century, during the reign of Heraclius (610–641). The emperor Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus (914–959), an author like his father, Leo VI. Philosophus (886–911), describes that institution as having already long existed, and undergone several changes, before his own times. Every theme was governed by a *strategos*, who held the civil government and the command of the troops in the district somewhat similar to that of an ancient Roman proconsul, though placed in a smaller province. He enjoyed the first rank in the seven classes of the Byzantine court-dignitaries, and was assisted in his functions by subordinate officers, such as the border-wardens —κλεισουράρχαι—the commanders of the cavalry—ἱλάρχαι—τουρμάρχαι, and many others. Every theme contributed to the defence by a national guard, by contributions of horses,

arms, and provisions for the imperial army. We shall now give a short description of the themes, in the order in which we find them mentioned by the emperor.[86]

A—Themes of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor.

264. I. Thema Anatolicum—Θέμα Ἀνατολικόν—embraced a portion of the ancient Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, and Pisidia, north of Mount Taurus. Iconium was perhaps the metropolis; other cities were the Phrygian *Antioch*, *Synnada*, and *Pessinus*.[87]

II. Thema Armeniacum—Θέμα Ἀρμενιακόν—north of the former, on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus, comprised part of the ancient Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Pontus, with the cities *Amasia*, *Neokaisareia*, and *Sinope*. The emperors, in their vanity, gave this district the name of *Armenian*, at a time when the important border-province of the industrious and commercial Armenian Christians had been lost to the Saracens.

III. Thema Thracesiorum—Θέμα Θρακησίων—west of Anatolikon, consisted of the interior parts of Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia, on the rivers Maiandros, Hermos, and Kaikos, with the well-known cities of *Sardeis*, *Philadelphia*, *Aphrodisias*, *Alabanda*, *Thyatira*, *Kolossai* (Chonai), and *Laodikeia*. This district received its name from the Thracian legion quartered there. Thracian colonies were likewise settled in the interior.

IV. Thema Obsequium—Θέμα Ὀψίκιον—north of the former, took its name from the household officers or satellites, who surrounded the emperor. It extended from the Dasky-

[86] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *de thematibus et de administrando imperio liber*, forms the 3d volume in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians. 1840. See interesting details by John W. Zinkeisen, in his excellent "Geschichte Griechenlands," Leipzig, 1832, vol. i. p. 791–803—the best work hitherto published on Mediæval Greece, though unhappily still unfinished.

[87] We follow here the Greek orthography.

laion promontory on the Propontis, eastward to the Sangarios, and south to Mounts Dindymon and Ida, thus embracing portions of ancient Troy, Mysia, Phrygia, and Bithynia. It was one of the richest and best cultivated provinces of the east, with ten flourishing cities. NIKAIA was the metropolis; *Dorylaion*, *Midaion*, *Apameia*, *Myrleia*, *Prusa*, *Dragotha*, *Kydissos*, and *Apollonia*. After the defeat of the Bulgarians in 971, John Tzimisces transported large bodies of that people into Asia Minor, where they settled in the valley of Rhyndakos, near *Kotyaion* (Kutayah).

265. V. THEMA OPTIMATUM—*Θέμα Ὀπτίματον*—north of the former, is the ancient Bithynia, was governed by an officer called *domestikos*, who commanded a select body of Palatine troops—*ἱκανάτοι*. NIKOMEDIA was the metropolis: *Helenopolis*, *Astakos*, and *Parthenopolis*. Justinian had built a magnificent bridge across the Sangarios.

VI. THEMA BUCELLARIORUM—*Θέμα Βουκελλαρίων*—received its curious name from the sutlers—*βουκελλάριοι*—of the Greek army, who furnished the soldiers with bread and provisions (*βούκελλοι*) during their campaigns. It was formed of the northern part of Bithynia and the western portion of Galatia, and extended to the river Halys. The metropolis was ANKYRA; with *Herakleia* and *Teon* on the Pontus, *Klaudiopolis* and *Krateia* in the interior.

VII. THEMA PAPHLAGONUM—*Θέμα Παφλαγόνων*—the ancient province of that name, along the shores of the Black Sea, between the rivers Billakos and Halys. The Paphlagonians, like the Cappadocians and Cilicians, had a very bad reputation as scamps and charlatans. The metropolis was GANGRA (Germanikopolis), on the mountains in the interior. *Sora*, *Dalibra*, *Jonopolis*, *Pompeiopolis*, and *Amastra*, were other cities on the sea-coast.

266. VIII. THEMA CHALDIÆ—*Θέμα Χαλδίας*—east of the Armenian thema, the ancient Pontus, all along the sea; it extended southeast to the upper valley of the Euphrates. TRAPEZUS (Trebizond), was the metropolis; the Greek colonies on

the coast were still commercial and flourishing. *Theodosiopolis* (Erzerum), on the western branch of the Euphrates, near the frontiers of Great Armenia.

IX. THEMA MESOPOTAMIÆ—Θέμα Μεσοποταμίας—the ancient Armenia Quarta, and the northwestern part of Sophene, lay south of Chaldia, and extended beyond the Euphrates. It was a small border province, which had been surrendered by the Armenian chief, Pangkratukas, and his brothers, together with their castles, to Leo VI., Philosophus. The emperor gave it the organization of a theme, and sent a *strategos* with troops for the defence of the defile—κλεισοῦρα—on the headspring of the Tigris, leading into the Saracenic province of Mesopotamia. The cities were *Kitharizon* on the eastern Euphrates, *Romanopolis*, *Asramosata*, *Mazara*, and *Kolchis*.

X. THEMA COLONIÆ—Θέμα Κολωνείας—northwest of the former, on the table-lands of Armenia, took its name from the strong fortress Koloneia, situated on a precipitous rock on the upper Lykos. NEOKAISAREIA, on the lower Lykos, was the metropolis, and the birth-place of Gregorius, the great *thaumaturgos*, or miracle-worker. *Tephrike*—Τεφρική (now Divrigni)—in a deep valley between the towering mountain-ranges of Skoidises and Anti-Taurus, was the centre and principal stronghold of the early Protestants of the East—the calumniated and persecuted Paulicians—Παυλικιανοί. During the ninth century, Tephrike became the scene of the bloody wars which Michael III. and Basilius I., the Macedonian, waged against that en lightened and more philosophical sect, so hated and feared by the bigoted clergy of the Greek church. The Paulicians, maddened to despair by the cruel execution of the intolerant decrees of the Empress Theodora, rushed to arms; they fortified themselves in the impervious mountain-fastnesses of Tephrike and Koloneia. They received powerful support from the Saracens beyond the Euphrates—Unitarians like themselves—and under the command of Korbeas, their enthusiastic preacher and skilful general, they defeated in several battles the dastard Michael III., whom Theodora, the mother, had

sent against them. Having thus organized their revolt, Chrysocheir, the successor of Korbeas, carried the arms of the eastern Protestants to the shores of the Ægean. Nicæa, Nicomedia, and Ankyra, were captured and pillaged. The Paulicians stabled their horses in the cathedral of Ephesus, and they vied with their auxiliaries, the Saracens, in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. At last Basilius the Macedonian led, in 873, all the forces of the empire against them. Chrysocheir was surprised and slain, and "with him the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered." The emperor penetrated through the Anti-Taurus; the impregnable Tephrike, deserted by its defenders, was levelled to the ground, and the Paulician republic destroyed; but the spirit of religious independence still survived in the mountains on the Euphrates.[88]

XI. THEMA SEBASTIÆ—Θέμα Σεβαστείας—west of the former, in the ancient Armenia Prima and Secunda. It took its name from Julius Cæsar Augustus, or Sebastos. Its principal city, SEBASTEIA, lay on the Halys.

XII. THEMA LYCANDI—Θέμα Λυκανδοῦ—the frontier province on the western slope of Mount Taurus, had been almost entirely depopulated and devastated during the wars with the Arabs, but lately restored by Leo Philosophus, the father of Constantine VII., who sent the Armenian Melias with colonies of shepherds and flocks to the rich pasture lands of Mount Taurus. The theme embraced the ancient Melitene, and part of Armenia Tertia.

[88] John Tzimisces transported the Paulician sectarians from the Armenian frontiers to Thrace, where they settled in the valleys of Mount Hæmus. Their doctrines spread thence to Bulgaria and Italy, and they are supposed to have kindled the first spark of reformation among the Lombards and Albigenses in the twelfth century. Mosheim treats the Paulicians with severity; Gibbon has done them justice in the 54th chapter of his brilliant history. In spite of some mystical extravagancies, they were certainly a virtuous sect; their scriptures were pure; they condemned the idolatry of the Eastern Church, and manfully denounced the errors and crimes maliciously imputed to them by the Greeks.

XIII. THEMA SELEUCIÆ—Θέμα Σελευκείας—southeast, was formed of the ancient Cilicia and Isauria, on the Gulf of Issos, opposite to Cyprus. A border-count—Κλεισουράρχης—commanded here a colony of stout Bulgarians, who were settled on Mount Amanus, to defend the important defiles, and oppose the forays of the Saracens from the Euphrates. The memory of these colonists is still preserved in the modern name of the Cilician pass—*Bolghar-Dagh.* Leo VI. formed this thema, and made SELEUKIA, on the coast, its metropolis. *Tarsos*, *Aphrodisias*, *Dalisandros*, *Lauzados*, *Adana*, and other cities, enjoyed a splendid climate and a fertile soil, but were much exposed to the piratical landings of the Mohammedans.

267. XIV. THEMA CIBYRRÆOTARUM—Θέμα Κιβυρραιωτῶν—west of the former, ran along the whole southern coast of Asia Minor, westward to Miletos on the Ægean. Protected by the snow-capped ridge of Mount Taurus on the north, it was the most smiling and cultivated portion of Asia Minor, with a great number of cities. It took its name from the small and poor town of KIBYRRHA, as if in mockery, says Constantine. *Mylassa*, *Halikarnassos*, *Xanthos*, *Telmissos*, *Patara*, *Attaleia*, *Perge*, *Side*, *Selge*, and many others. RHODES, and the smaller islands, *Kos*, *Kalymna*, *Nisyros*, and *Telos*, belonged likewise to this thema. The Saracens had invaded Rhodes in 651. The colossal statue of Phœbus Apollo, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world which adorned the entrance of the great port, had long ago been overthrown by an earthquake, but its massy trunk and heaps of fragments were still scattered about the mouth of the harbor, where they were gathered by the greedy children of the desert, and sold to a Jewish merchant from Edessa. The money-man got them shipped over to the continent, and the precious brass was then loaded on *eight hundred* camels, and carried away into Mesopotamia.

XV. THEMA OR PRÆFECTURA CYPRI—Θέμα Κύπρου—the beautiful island of that name, which was governed by a consular—κονσολάριος. The metropolis was KONSTANTIA, on the

eastern coast. *Kition*, *Amathus*, *Paphos*, *Leukosia*, *Trimythos*, the birthplace of Saint Spyridon, and other towns, were still flourishing. The Saracens having invaded Cyprus in 805, under Haroun-ar-Raschid, were expelled again by Leo the Armenian in 816; but they yearned after that terrestrial paradise, and soon obtained possession of the island again. To the great regret of Constantine, "the infidel Hagareans" still occupied Cyprus in his day (950), but in 964, the brilliant Nicephorus Phocas finally recovered that gem of the eastern empire.

268. XVI. THEMA SAMI INSULÆ—*Θέμα Σάμου*—consisted not only of that large island, whose city was the metropolis of the theme, but it extended along the Ionian coast from Jassos northward to the Adramyttian Gulf, with the beautiful cities *Ephesos*, *Smyrna*, *Magnesia*, *Miletos*, *Tralles*, *Pergamon*, *Lebedos*, and others. Its governor commanded the Thracian cavalry, which, on account of their quarters in that theme, were divided into the Ephesian and Adramyttian squadrons; the islands of the coast, such as *Patmos* and *Ikaros*, belonged likewise to the Samian theme.

XVII. THEMA ÆGEUM PELAGUS—*Θέμα Αἰγαῖον Πέλαγος*—embraced all the islands of the Ægean, the Cyclades, and Sporades, together with the coast land of Troy, all along the Hellespont and Propontis, as far as the rivers Rhyndakos and Daskylion, north of Mount Olympus. Cities on the mainland were *Assos*, *Ilion*, *Dardanos*, *Abydos*, *Lampsakos*, *Parion*, *Kyzikos*, and the large island *Prokonnesos* on the Propontis.

Until the times of the crusades, we hear little about the inhabitants of the beautiful islands of the Ægean—*Αἰγαιοπελαγῖται*—as the Greeks call them; they suffered severely from the piratical expeditions of the Saracens. Earlier, they were fanatic image worshippers, and when Leo the Isaurian condemned the idolatry of the images, and ordered the churches in Constantinople and all the empire to be cleansed from that abomination, the fire of rebellion spread from Athens through-

out the Ægean; the Greek islanders, arming a fleet, sailed to the Bosphorus under the command of Stephanos and Agellianos, with the intention to depose the iconoclastic emperor and raise the pious prophet Kosmas to the throne. But all their blustering terminated with their total defeat before the city; their fleet was burnt with the Greek fire; their fanatic leaders were captured, and suffered capital punishment.

XVIII. EPARCHIA CRETÆ—Ἐπαρχία Κρήτης. This fertile and important isle is not mentioned by Constantine, because it was still in possession of the Saracens. During the period of their early enthusiasm, some daring bands of Spanish Arabs landed in open barks on the island, and after the most heroical exploits they succeeded, in 823, in subduing the Christian population, and the large island, in sight of the whole Greek empire. Crete became entirely Mohammedan, and it was not until the downfall of the creed and the virtue of the Arabs, that Nicephorus Phocas, in a brilliant campaign, A. D. 961, captured Candia and the other cities, subdued the island, and forced the Mohammedan population to accept baptism.

B.—THEMES OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN EUROPE.

269. I. THEMA THRACIUM—Θέμα Θρακῶν—embraced the greater portion of ancient Thrace, and reached northward to Mount Hæmus, at that time the frontier-line of the weakened empire. The country beyond the range toward the Danube was inhabited by Mavro-Bulgari, or Black Bulgarians, who were reduced to subjection in 971, by the arms of John Tzimisces. Westward, the theme did not extend beyond Mount Despotos and the river Strymon. Thrace was a fertile and beautiful region, but it had been sadly devastated during the Bulgarian wars, and was already inhabited by a mixed Sclavo-Grecian population. It was subdivided into five EPARCHIÆ: I. EUROPE, on the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and Propontis, with the cities *Arkadiopolis*, *Herakleia*, and *Kallipolis*,

on the Thracian Chersonese. CONSTANTINOPLE, the Imperial capital, had its own government. II. RHODOPE, west of Europe, in the mining district of Mount Pangkaion; cities were *Philippoi*, *Trajanopolis*, *Ainos*, *Serrai*, *Parthikopolis*, and others. III. HÆMIMONTIS, on the north, at the base of the mountains, with *Adrianopolis* and *Anchialos*. IV. THRAKIA, northwest, in the interior, with *Philippopolis*, *Beroe*, and says Constantine, the islands of *Thasos*, *Samothrake*, and *Imbros*. V. MYSIA, by which the imperial geographer understands the lately conquered *Bulgaria*—the ancient Mœsia, north of Mount Hæmus, which had been transformed into the fifth eparchy of Thrace, with the cities *Tomis* and *Constantiana* on the Pontus; *Dionysopolis*, *Kapidaba*, *Istros*, and others, in the valley of the Danube. The frontier districts were governed by strategoi, and the others by consulars.

II. THEMA MACEDONIÆ.—Θέμα Μακεδονίας—was inhabited by a great number of different Sclavonian tribes formerly under the sceptre of the Bulgarian kings; but after their defeat in 971 rendering homage to the Byzantine emperor. The more numerous tribes were the *Burdariotæ* in the upper regions of Mount Scardus, *Belegezitæ*, and *Sagudatæ*, in the plains of Macedonia, which already began to be called *Blachia*. More east, on the Strymon, sat another Sclavonic tribe, the *Drugubitæ*; Byzantine officials were placed in the districts, but their power was nought; yet the vain and tasteless Emperor gives a pompous description of ancient Macedonia with her Philip and Alexander, but does not say a single syllable about the condition of that unhappy country during his own reign. The Thema was divided into three eparchiæ:

I. CONSULAR MAKEDONIA on the east, with *Edessa*, *Pella*, *Kelle*, *Apollonia*, *Ithapolis*, and *Amphipolis*. II. HEGEMONIC MAKEDONIA, commanded by a military officer—ἡγεμών—with the cities *Stoloi*, *Pelagonia*, *Harmonia*, and *Zapara*. III. THESSALIA, with the metropolis NEAI PATRAI, (Hypata), in the valley of the Sperchios, and the cities *Larissa* on the Peneus, *Trikke*, *Pharsalos* and *Kaisareia*. *Demetrias*, on the Pa-

gasetic Gulf, was a populous and flourishing commercial town in A. D. 896, when it was surprised, besieged, and captured by a Saracenic army, that slaughtered its inhabitants, and carried off its wealth, leaving nothing behind but smoking ruins and mouldering corpses. *Lamia*, on Mount Othrys, opposite to Thermopylæ; *Gomphi*, and the islands *Skiathos*, *Peparethos*, and *Skepila* (*Skopelos*).

III. THEMA STRYMONIS—*Θέμα Στρύμονος*—in the upper valley of that river, beneath the highest peaks of Mount Scardus (35), was entirely occupied by Sclavonian hordes, and governed by a border count, or *Klisuriarch*.

IV. THEMA THESSALONICE—*Θέμα Θεσσαλονίκη*—was circumscribed to the *Chalkidian* Chersonese. Its metropolis was THESSALONIKE (Saloniki), on the Thermaïc Gulf, the richest and most commercial city of the empire during the ninth century; but in 904 it was attacked by a numerous army of Arabs who carried the city by storm, and after having plundered it of its wealth, brought thousands of its unhappy citizens away for the slave markets of the East. Other towns in the peninsula were the celebrated *Olynthos*, *Kassandreia*, and *Stageira*. The magnificent promontory *Hagion Oros* (Athos), called the *Sacred Mount*, on account of the many monasteries splendidly situated on the slopes of the mountain. There thousands of monks and hermits were occupied in copying Greek manuscripts, and painting those Byzantine images that caused the violent religious commotions during the eighth century.

V. THEMA HELLAS—*Θέμα Ἑλλας*—embraced the ancient provinces, Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, as far as the defile of the Thermopylæ, at the base of Mount Oeta; farther Ætolia and Acarnania, north to the Ambracian Gulf, and the islands Eubœa and Ægina. Constantine gives Hellas seventy-nine cities, forty of which, however, seem to have belonged to the Peloponnesian theme. The only cities he mentions are, *Skarphia*, *Eleusis*, *Daulion*, *Chaironeia*, *Naupaktos*, *Delphoi*, *Amphissa*, and *Chalkis*, on Eubœa.

VI. THEMA PELOPONNESUS—*Θέμα Πελοπόννησος*—with the

metropolis KORINTHOS; among its forty cities were *Sikyon*, *Argos*, and *Lakedaimonia* (Sparta). The greater part of the interior of the peninsula was inhabited by Sclavonians, who, in 860, during the reign of Michael III., had been brought back to the allegiance of the Emperor (196). The only larger district that remained in the possession of the Greeks was the mountainous region of Mount Taygetos—the present *Mani* or Maïna. In that retired corner of Lakonia, a small remnant of the Greek race survived, living in a state of isolation, poverty, and barbarism. So completely had they been separated from all connection with the rest of the nation, and secluded from the influence of the Greek Church, that the rural population around the fortress of Maïna, on the western promontory of Tainaron, had remained pagans until the reign of Basilius I., the Macedonian, A. D. 861–886, when the Greek monks attended to their conversion. "These mountaineers are not Sclavonians," says Constantine, "but descendants of the ancient Hellenes, who had sought refuge on the promontory, where they live in a barren region, difficult of access, without water, and producing nothing but olive trees."[90] In the time of the imperial historian, these Maniates paid to the royal treasury an annual tribute of four hundred gold Byzants. The Greeks likewise occupied the cities on the coast. The general who commanded the theme resided in Korinth; *Patræ* was a thriving

[90] *Ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ τοῦ κάστρου Μαΐνης οἰκήτορες οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῶν προρρηθέντων Σκλάβων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παλαιοτέρων Ῥωμαίων οἱ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ τῶν ἐντοπίων Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύονται διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς προπαλαιοῖς χρόνοις εἰδωλολάτρας εἶναι καὶ προσκυνητὰς τῶν εἰδώλων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἕλληνας.* Constant. Porphyr. de administ. imper. cap. L. Bonnæ, 1840, page 224. This interesting passage gives us full evidence that the present *Maniatæ* (Mainotts), are the descendants of the ancient Lakonians, and not Sclavonians, as has been stated by Chateaubriand and other superficial writers. See, moreover, Zinkeisen, vol. II. pages 769–771. Constantine confounds, however, the eastern promontory *Malea* with the western *Tainaron*, on which the castle of Maina is situated; but this makes no difference as to the main historical fact, and the inferences drawn from it.

city, which had gallantly beaten back an attack made in 807 by the forces of the Sclavonian hordes in the interior, united with a Sarcenic fleet, cutting off all communication between the peninsula and continental Greece. The beautiful plains of Elis and Messenia, the table-lands of Arkadia, with the large Sclavonic settlements at *Nikli* and *Veligosti*, and the deep valley of Lakonia, remained for centuries in the possession of Sclavini, Melingi, Ezeritæ, and other tribes. We shall find them there again two centuries later at the invasion of the Frank crusaders in 1205. And yet the Greek race has survived all these disasters; it has impressed its own powerful nationality on the barbarians who, numerous as they were, yielded to the higher genius of the *Hellenes;* and while, during the Middle Ages, the complete fusion of the Roman and Germanic races was effected in western Europe, the small Greek nation withstood the shock of the millions of Sclavonians who oppressed them, and preserved their religion, language, and nationality. But they naturally enough adopted some Sclavonic expressions, and terms in their language, and some of their customs and peculiarities. We therefore find a remarkable resemblance in the dress, habits, and even superstitions among the Greco-Slavic tribes of modern Turkey. The Wallachian and Servian are the herdsmen of the hill; the Bulgarian, the ploughman of the plain; the Albanian, the klepht and warrior of the mountain; and the Greek, the merchant, mechanic, and mariner of the coast and the island. The mild and spirited Wlach, the robust and laborious Bulgarian, the idle and fanciful Servian, the crafty and haughty Arnaut, the brilliant, ingenious, and bustling Greek—all mix together in their daily intercourse like countrymen and brethren; as co-religionists, they all alike hate and despise the stupid Turk. The same hope of independence and resurrection pervades them all, and if they did not succeed in uniting their noble exertions for liberty, it was the Russian giant who opposed a union so detrimental to his own ambitious views in the Levant.

270. VII. THEMA CEPHALLENIÆ—Θέμα Κεφαλληνίας—em-

braced the Ionian islands, *Kephallenia*, *Kerkyra* (Corfu), *Zakynthos* (Zante), *Leukas* (Santa Maura), *Ithaka*, *Kythera* (Cerigo), and others smaller.

VIII. THEMA NICOPOLIS—Θέμα Νικόπολις—consisted of the ancient Epirus from the Ambracian Gulf northward to Apollonia on the river *Aous* (Laos); it had twelve cities, of which NIKOPOLIS was the metropolis, and it was governed by a general.

IX. THEMA DYRRACHIUM—Θέμα Δυρραχίου—was called *New Epirus*, and consisted nominally of the ancient Dacia, Dardania, and part of Illyria, with the metropolis DYRRACHIUM, the ancient Epidamnus. But only the southern part of the province belonged to the Byzantine Empire. The Servians and Croats occupied the whole country north of the Drinus, and the Bulgarians were settled in the interior.

X. THEMA SICILIÆ—Θέμα Σικελίας—had been conquered by the Aglabid warriors from Africa during the years 826–88 (259), and was still in the possession of the Arab emirs.

XI. THEMA LONGOBARDIÆ—Θέμα Λογγοβαρδίας—consisted of the last remnants of the Greek possessions in lower Italy. This theme embraced nominally four distinct parts, which were separated by the almost independent Lombard duchy of Beneventum, and the Arabic settlements on the Gulf of Tarentum. I. LONGOBARDIA, on the southeastern coast, extended from the river *Aufidus* (Ofanto), to the promontory of Otranto, and comprised the two provinces of *Capitanata*—Καπετανάτον—and *Basilicata*—ἐπαρχία Βασιλική—both east of Mount Apennine. BARIUM (Bari), a strongly fortified city on the coast, was the metropolis of the theme, and the residence of the Byzantine governor—Κατεπάνω. *Brundusium* (Brundisi), *Hydruntum* (Otranto), *Kallipolis* (Gallipoli), and *Tarentum* (Taranto), were important cities, with excellent ports, in constant communication with Constantinople. *Basantellum* (Basantello), west of Tarentum, on the small river Basentius, where the emperor, Otho II., in 982, suffered a signal defeat from the united Greeks and Arabs. The imperial troops

rushed with the greatest impetuosity upon the Greeks, who fell back in good order, and allured the headlong German knights into an ambuscade of the Arabs, hitherto concealed behind the mountains. The heavy-armed Germans were speedily surrounded on every side by innumerable hordes of those swift horsemen. They were scattered and cut to pieces; the emperor galloped to the shore, and plunging into the sea, mounted as he was on his trusty steed, swam towards a Greek vessel. The greedy crew supposing the imperial fugitive to be a distinguished knight, sailed to the city of *Rossano*, the German head-quarters, in order to receive the proffered ransom. But the youthful German hero, springing boldly from the ship, swam ashore, to the amazement of the Greeks, and after safely reaching land, he entered the city, and was there joyfully received by his queen and retinue, 13th July, 982.

II. Calabria, on the southwestern peninsula, opposite to Sicily, with the cities *Roscianum* (Rossano), *Squillatium* (Squillace), on the gulf of that name (130). *Regium* (Reggio), and *Bisinianum*, in the interior. The Saracens had taken *Brundusium* and *Bari*, and driven the Greeks into Mount Apennine; but by a great effort under the Emperor, Basilius I., and with the co-operation of Louis II., and his Franks, the invaders were defeated and expelled in 868, and the Greek *catapans* ruled the province until Robert Guiscard and his Normans, after the brilliant conquest of all lower Italy in the year 1071, besieged and took Bari, the last possession of the Greeks in Italy.

III. Ducatus Neapolis—The duchy of Naples, with the flourishing cities, Neapolis (Naples), the metropolis, *Surrentum* Sorrento), *Nuceria* (Nocera), and *Amalphis* (Amalfi, Malfa). Naples, with its elective duke, who often was a bishop, its consuls, nobility, and popular assembly, had already become an independent republic, and stood only in distant relations to the Byzantine empire. Amalfi, consisting of the city of Amalfi, and quite a number of populous boroughs and castles, in strong and beautiful positions on the Gulf of Salerno, was then one of the most wealthy and enterprising maritime re-

publics of Italy. The Amalfians, under their native dukes, made commercial treaties with the Saracens, who respected their flag: they occupied all the smaller islands in the Gulf of Naples, their merchant vessels visited the distant coasts of the East, whence they brought the Indian products to the ports of France and Spain. They were the rivals of the Venetians, and the pride of Italy, until their disastrous war with Pisa, and the capture and destruction of their city in the year 1137. IV. Ducatus Cajetæ, the duchy of Gaëta, on its strongly fortified promontory, north of Naples, recognized the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor, but enjoyed a republican government, like the neighboring cities of Naples and Amalfi.

XII. Thema Chersonis—Θέμα Χερσῶνος—the twenty-ninth, and the last of the themes, composed the western part of the Taurian Chersonese (Crimea), and the opposite coast of the mainland, to the mouth of the Dnieper. The only cities in possession of the Greeks were *Cherson* and *Bosporus*, important on account of the commerce on the Don, Volga, and the Caspian. Some few wrecks of the great Chazaric nation were still settled in the eastern part of Crimea; but the northern shores of the Black Sea, westward to the Danube, formed then the Chanate of the horrible Petcheneges, who gave so great an anxiety to the Greek emperors, during the later period of the tenth century.

271. Ducatus Beneventi—The Lombard duchy of Benevento, embracing the interior provinces of Lower Italy—had been divided into the principalities of *Benevento* and *Salerno*, and the county of *Capua*, under different dynasties of Lombard dukes, almost incessantly fighting against one another, but always recognizing the sovereignty either of the German emperor, when he was approaching at the head of his army, or of the Byzantine empire, when her *catapan* had received reinforcements from the East, and defeated the Saracens.

These fluctuating politics continued until Duke Pandulph, Iron-Head, in 974, succeeded in uniting the entire duchy, and by his alliance with the Greeks, was enabled to defend himself against the invasions of the Sicilian emirs.

272. Ducatus Venetiæ—the duchy of Venice, together with the peninsula of Istria, and all the islands on the Dalmatian coast, belonged likewise nominally to the Eastern Empire; but the homage rendered by the *doges*, or dukes, consisted more[90] in some public ceremony than in any subjection to the imperial governor of the Italian provinces. Venice had maintained her independence under the administration of her *tribunes*, named by an assembly of the people in each of the separate isles. Yet powerful families began to influence the elections; jealousies arose in the small communities of the islands; the tribunes themselves disagreed. To put an end to these factions, the citizens of every island met in a single assembly at Heraclea, in 697, and elected a chief of maritime Venice, whom they, in imitation of the Greeks called Dux—*doge*—or duke, and who was considered as the lieutenant of the emperor of Constantinople. During the Lombardic wars in Italy, thousands of refugees found an asylum in the islands of the young republic. She began to extend her commerce and political importance. Pepin, king of Italy (187), attacked her with a large army in 809; and the Emperor Constantine gives a pleasant account of the awkward position of Pepin, who attempted in vain to invade the isles with his cavalry, by throwing beams across the narrow inlet of *Madamaucum* (Malamocco). Attacked on all sides by the Venetians from their ships, the son of Charlemagne was obliged to retire dis-

[90] Genoa and Pisa preserved their relations with Constantinople, after they had been occupied by the Lombards. They sent every year a *pallium*, or silken banner to the emperors, in Constantinople, which was considered as a sort of tribute. Venice, Gaëta, Naples and Amalfi, advanced more openly to independence.

gracefully, to the mainland, after a heavy loss.[91] The Venetians then made choice of the largest island, the RIVA ALTA —*Rialto*—in the centre of the Lagoons, where they had secured their families and wealth, and there they built the city of *Venice*, the capital of their republic. Some years later, they transported thither from Alexandria, in Egypt, the body of Saint Mark, the Evangelist, whom they chose patron of their state. His winged lion figured in their arms; and under his victorious banner they afterwards raised their great colonial empire of the East. Thus strengthened by devotion and union, the bold Venetians, in 997, set sail for the Dalmatian islands, where they were received with open arms by the Christian population. With their aid, they defeated the barbarous Croatian hordes who dared to descend on the coast, and the still more troublesome pirates of Narenta. (260) Istria, and all the Dalmatian islands hoisted the banner of Saint Mark; they received their governors and judges from Venice, whose doge from that year—997—took the title of DUX VENETIÆ ET DALMATIÆ.

273. Such was the political and military organization of the Byzantine Empire, from the sixth to the thirteenth century, when the storms of the crusades swept away the empire and its institutions. Many of its provinces were then entirely lost; others were, together with the capital, reconquered by the Palæologi (1261), but the old divisions could not be renewed in a state which thenceforth was circumscribed almost to the walls and environs of Constantinople. With all the deficiencies of its government, Byzantium was still the best organized state of mediæval Europe. No state ever possessed such a long succession of able rulers, and of brave and skilful generals, competent to direct all branches of the administration, and to beat back the attacks of foreign invaders, as the Eastern Empire. The talents of the emperors, as well as the

[91] Constantini Porphyr. *de Administrando Imp.* cap. xxviii., p. 124.

systematic order of the administration, held together their extensive dominions long after the tendencies of mediæval society had urged the different nationalities to separate. In Constantinople it was a constant object of the imperial attention to prevent too great an accumulation of power in the hands of any single official; and yet it was absolutely necessary to intrust the generals and provincial governors with extensive authority, for they were called upon incessantly to resist the barbarian invaders, and to quell internal insurrections. Never did sovereigns perform their complicated duties with such profound ability and perseverance as the Byzantine monarchs. No mayors of the palace ever circumscribed their power; no pope ever made them bow down in the dust; nor were they reduced to become the puppets of their mercenaries, like the caliphs of Bagdad.[92] A vivid and interesting picture of Byzantine politics and masterly statesmanship, we shall see exhibited by the emperors of the Comnenian dynasty during the following period of the crusades.

The Greek empire afforded during this period an asylum to the remains of literature and culture, preserved from the ages of antiquity, which were destined to afford abundant sources of investigation and research for the learned in after times. Cæsar Bardas, the brother of Theodora, kept the state in excellent order during the reign of his unworthy nephew, Michael III. (856–866), and raised Photius, a prelate of eminent talents and profound learning, to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Basilius I. began the revisal of the Justinian Code, which his son Leo VI. Philosophus, completed in the *Basilica*—*ἡ ἑξηκοντάβιβλος τῶν Βασιλικῶν*. Leo wrote an important work on Byzantine military science—*τὰ τακτικά*—and his son, Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, entirely devoted to the works of classical antiquity, and the study of the constitution and political relations of the empire, has left us

[92] See for interesting details, chap. liii. in Gibbon: compare Zinkeisen and Finlay in their works on mediæval Greece, previously mentioned.

those valuable writings, from which we have gathered these details on the Byzantine Geography of the tenth century.

THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD IN ASIA AND AFRICA:

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY DURING THE TENTH CENTURY, UNTIL THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE SELDJUKIAN TURKS. A. D. 809–1028.

A.—THE CALIPHATE OF THE ABBASIDS IN BAGDAD. A. D. 809–1258.

274. DISMEMBERMENT OF THE ARABIAN EMPIRE.—The vast extent of countries which the first caliphs had united by the Koran and the scimitar of Mohammed, received no regular interior organization. The victorious Saracens permitted the vanquished nations to remain mostly in the same condition as they found them at the time of the conquest. They urged them to accept Islamism, but treated them generally with religious tolerance.

The caliphs considered themselves as the lord possessors of the soil. Extensive tracts of land were reserved for their domains; others were distributed among the Moslem conquerors, who paid only the tenth part of the produce—*aschr*—while the native population were taxed with the fifth, and even the third part of theirs for the lands they were suffered to retain. The Christian and Jewish inhabitants paid besides an onerous income tax—*ta 'adil*—and the degrading poll-tax—*charatch*. The revenues were in part leased out to the highest bidder; and the poor subjects became thus exposed to the avarice, and the arbitrary extortions of the tax-gatherers. Abd-el-Melek established the mint in the city of *Wasit*, on the Tigris, near Kufah (207), where *gold-dinars*—and *silver-dirrhems*—were coined (222), under the direction of the

Jews, who were there quite in their own element. The Moslemin were exempted from all personal exactions, except military service. At their first appearance on the outskirts of the desert, the Arabs had astonished the world as much by the squalid aspect of their Bedouin hordes, as by the rapidity of their movements. Their cavalry was excellent; their foot, too, was numerous, and rode on camels during the march. The incredible activity of such an army, no less than their religious fanaticism, opened them the path to continual victory and conquest. A century later, we find the Saracens admirably armed with those flexible coats of mail, and peaked helmets, which the crusaders afterwards considered as superior to their own armature of Italian or French workmanship. The Saracenic scimitars, bucklers, and lances, were as well tempered as they were beautiful; and nowhere in the world could sword blades be brought to such a perfection of temper as among the Saracens, in Toledo, Damascus, or Persia. But after the conquest, the Arabs neglected their tactics. Their principal strength consisted only in cavalry and archers; their battle array was formed of large squares, in double lines, of which the archers occupied the first, and the horse the second; the numerous herds of cattle which they carried along with them, rendered their stay at one place impossible, and they were therefore in continual movement.

The splendor of the rapid conquest could not destroy the seeds of decay which the faith, ideas, and manners of the Arabs had sown in the lands under their dominion. The religious enthusiasm which had been so powerful an instrument of conquest, became a source of disorder when the victory was won. The same fanaticism and ambition which had built up the empire, were soon to destroy it again. Even under the reign of Aaron the Just—*Haroun-ar-Raschid*—the happiest in the annals of the caliphate, rebellions had commenced in the West (214, 215), which showed the real weakness of so extensive a dominion, intrusted to the fidelity and devotion of military governors. Haroun was the last *Emir al Mumenin*,

who performed in person the pilgrimage to the sacred cities, where Islamism had taken its rise. His successors, for the most part shut up and inaccessible in their palaces, were living surrounded by women and literary men, indifferent to the political affairs of their empire, which fell under the power of their viziers and court-favorites. Haroun, like Charlemagne, his contemporary, divided his realm between his sons in such a manner, that the oldest, Mohammed II. al-Amin, should possess the dignity of Caliph over the whole empire; while his younger brother, Al-Mamun, obtained the government over the provinces of the east, *Iran*, *Kerman*, *Khorasan*, *Tabaristan*, and the rest, as far as the frontiers of India—and his youngest brother, Mohammed III. Motassem was endowed with the provinces in the north, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Caucasus*, both with extensive powers; yet as *under-kings*, who were to obey the orders of the Caliph. Civil wars between the brothers immediately began to shake the empire; and a few years later, with Mohammed III. Motassem, the eighth caliph of the Abbasid family, the glory of that dynasty, and of the Arabic nation, expired for ever. The Saracens having spread throughout the splendid countries they had conquered, began to turn their attention to the quiet occupations of agriculture, commerce, and literature. "The courage of the South," says Gibbon, "is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in those climates of the north, of which valor is the hardy and spontaneous production." Motassem formed an army of fifty thousand Turks, from the warlike race of Tartars who lived beyond the Oxus and Iaxartes. With their powerful aid, he succeeded in quelling the rebellions which had sprung up around him, yet the weakness of a throne founded on opinion, and supported by foreign arms, was soon discovered by the proud Emirs who commanded the body-guard. The Turks stood in arms around the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Their licentious

conduct provoked the public indignation, and the hostilities between the Arab population and the Turkish guards induced the Caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence, and the camp of his barbaric favorites, at *Asker-el-Serramenra* (207), on the Tigris, about twelve miles above the City of Peace. Yet new revolutions broke out among the walis of the east; new heresies sprung up in the south, while Bagdad herself, became the scene of the most terrible convulsions.

Five caliphs perished by assassination in the course of twenty-five years (846–870), and at the end of the ninth century a general insurrection of the Arabs of the desert—the *Karamathians*—gave the last blow to the authority of the Abbasid caliphs. Surrounded by rebellious lieutenants, fanatic heretics, and arrogant mercenaries, the unhappy Ahmed IV. Rhadi, in 940, placed his tottering throne under the protection of a more energetic authority, and conferred upon the valiant Mohammed Abu-Bekr-Ebn-Raik the dignity of an *Emir-al-Omrah* or Emir of the Emirs. This important office embraced all the military and executive power as the mayordom of the palace among the Franks (118). The chief emir, whose name was inserted in the public prayers, obscured entirely the reputation of the caliphs. He was thus stripped of all his political influence, and nothing was left him but an empty religious supremacy as a *pensioned high-priest of the mosque.* Thus from the year 940 the caliphs disappear as political chiefs; and the different leaders of influential families now begin the contest about the dignity of the *emirate* (154). Mighty dynasties had in the mean time arisen throughout the broad lands of the Abbasid empire, whose frontiers soon became circumscribed within the walls of the city of Bagdad. The powerful chief of the Buids, Emed-ed-Daula (pillar of the empire), secured the dignity in his family; but during the quarrel of the mock caliph, Abdallah V. Kaim-Beamrillah (watching the will of God), with his great emir, Malek-al-Rahim (compassionate prince), in 1035, the former called to his assistance the Seldjukian chief, Togrûl

Beï, who, at the head of his Turkomans, destroyed the dynasty of the Buids, and, as Turkish sultan, soon swept away all the countries west of the Euphrates. A new and terrible power thus arose in the East, that of the Seldjukian Turks; yet the poor Abbasid caliphs of Bagdad breathed more freely; the conquering sultans cared little about the domestic administration, the pomp and prayers in Bagdad; and the spiritual commanders of the faithful were now relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence of their own arrogant servants, the Buids. Thus the Abbasids, succeeding from father to son, lingered on obscurely in seraglio and mosque, during the eventful period of the crusades on the shores of Syria, until the Mongolic invasion of Hulagu in 1258, buried the last miserable caliph, Abdallah Mostassem Billah (guiltless through God), under the smoking ruins of his capital.

B.—Mohammedan Dynasties in Central Asia.

275. I. The Taherites—813–872. Smaller dynasties arose early in the fertile Mawar-al-Nahr, beyond the Oxus (212), Sedjestan, so rich by her mines of gold ore, and in Khorasan. The founders of these dynasties pretended to be descendants of the Sassanid kings of old, and they obtained a great influence on the inhabitants who continued to speak some dialect of the Persian language, and still secretly adhered to the fire-worship of the Magi. Thus Taher, a brave general of Al-Mamun, the second son of Haroun-ar-Raschid, who had defeated the older brother, the caliph, Mohammed-al-Amin, received as a reward for his services, the hereditary government of Khorasan. There he made himself independent of Bagdad, and his sons ruled in *Nischabuhr* till the year 872.

II. The Soffarids—908. Yacub-Ben-Leith, the son of a coppersmith—*soffárs*[93]—a notorious robber captain, increas-

[93] The descendants of Yacub were therefore called Soffarids.

ed his victorious bands, and occupying Balkh in Tokharestan, and Cabul in Zabulistan (Afghanistan), captured the last prince of the Taherite dynasty, Mohammed, in 872, and marched directly against Bagdad at the head of a large army. Death surprised him on the road, and his brother Amru succeeded to the government, but was overthrown in 900 by the Samanids. His nephew, Taher, who was elected chief by the leaders of the nation, perished in 908, and with him the family of the Soffarids. The Arabian language and literature extended rapidly throughout the East. At Nischabuhr, there were flourishing schools and colleges, where celebrated editions of the Koran were published.

III. The SAMANIDS—1004. Samans was a wealthy chief of Khorasan. His son Ismael, the governor of Mawr-al-Nahr, made himself independent; and after his victory over the Soffarids, he obtained the title of *Padisha*. The dynasty resided in *Bokhara;* they soon lost their energy and virtue among the delights of the harem; they left the direction of the state affairs in the hands of their Emir-al-Omrah; and the tenth prince, Montasser, perished in 1004 under the sabres of the advancing Turks.

IV. The GHASNAVIDS—1184.—A young Turk, Sebec-Thegin, in Ghasna in Zabulistan, was raised to the throne in 977, and his son, Mohammed Yemin-ed-Daula (the support of the realm), penetrated into *Hindostan*, took *Kanodsche*, on the Djumna, and amassed an immense booty from the ancient and wealthy Indian temples. Great exertions were made to convert the Hindoos to the Mohammedan faith, and the whole splendid and highly civilized country, as far as the Ganges, remained under the sway of the flourishing dynasty of the Ghasnavids. But the Brahmins were watching the events in Ghasna; and when, in 1152, the Mohammedan princes were defeated in their homes by the Seldjuk Turks, the fanatical priests of Brahma called the Hindoos to arms, and drove the

Arabs out of the country. Surrounded by enemies on all sides, the last Ghasnavid sultan, Bahram, fell, and was succeeded by the powerful and popular family of the *Ghorids*. The princes of the Ghasnavid dynasty were friends of art and literature, and the celebrated Persian poet, Ferdusi, the author of the admired epic poem, "The Kings"—*Shahname*—was an honored guest at the court.

V. The GHORIDS—1212.—In the *Ghor*, that is, the *plain* or southwestern lowlands of Balkh, some vassals of the Ghasnavids had become popular as supposed descendants of the Sassanid kings of Persia. Bahram, the Ghasnavid, resolved their destruction. But Hussein defeated him in a pitched battle, took and destroyed Ghasna, and raised a new empire on the ruins of the *Ghasnavids*. Seif-ed-Din crossed the Indus and captured Delhi. He conquered Khorasan, and ruled by the Koran and the sabre. The empire of the Ghorids consisted of *Ghasna* (Afghanistan), *Multan* (Lahore), on the Indus, and *Delhi* (Hindostan Proper), on the Ganges; but civil wars soon breaking out among his successors, the race of the Ghorids expired with Mohammed III.;[94] the Ghorid governors in India made themselves independent, and the Khowaresmian swarms invaded and occupied their western possessions.

276. VI. The KHOWARESMIDS—1231.—The southwestern portion of the ancient Turkistan or the vast region between the Caspian Sea, the Oxus, and the lake Aral, was called *Khowaresm* or Chorasmia (212). This country is in some places of an exuberant fertility, but encircled with deserts on all sides,

[94] Mohammed fell beneath the daggers of the banditti of Lahore, the *Gickers*, in 1212. The fanaticism of the Brahmins, who formed the priesthood and nobility of the Hindoos, frustrated all the attempts of the Mohammedan chiefs of the different dynasties to make Islamism the ruling religion in India; nor did the Saracens ever succeed in intermixing with the native races; the ancient divisions of castes prohibited the amalgamation. The Afghans became later the ruling nation in India.

and of difficult access. The eastern shores of the Caspian Sea present nothing but long gloomy chains of arid downs and rocks; the plains at the base of the mountains, and the valleys through which the Ossa and other rivers flow toward the sea, seem condemned to aridity and solitude. The sea of Aral (sea of eagles) or lake of Khowaresm on the east, contains, like the Caspian, sturgeons and seals (193), though its waters have some saline impregnation. The shores of the lake are marshy, and an elevated ridge of dreary and rocky hills separates it from the Caspian. And yet was Khowaresm one of the most important regions of central Asia on account of its position between the Oxus and those large inland seas. The great route of Indian and Persian commerce passed on the Oxus through Khowaresm to the Caspian, and thence by the Volga to Novgorod and the Baltic, and by the Don to Crimea, Constantinople, and the Mediterranean. Flourishing emporiums rose early in the dreary desert. *Senfaya*, *Taheria*, *Khowaresm*, *Kiptshak*, on the Oxus. KURKENDSH—*Korkatch*—(Alturgens), on the small lakes southwest of Aral, became the capital and great emporium for the transport across the desert to the Caspian. Among the native tribes of Turkomans were the Seldjuk Turks, whose emirs early obtained a supremacy over the other hordes; yet, during their conquests in western Asia, Kothb-ed-Din, the great Shah of Khowaresm, founded the dynasty of the celebrated *Khowaresmids* in 1096, and extended his conquests toward Buchara, Khorasan Cabul, nay, even into the heart of Persia and Irak themselves. The Ghorids on the east mustered their Indian forces to avert the rising storm, but they were swept away, and the Khowaresm empire remained the most brilliant in central Asia by its commerce, wealth, and military power, until the irruption of Genghis-Khan and his hundred thousand of Mongols in A. D. 1219. After a most tremendous war, and the destruction of millions of men, the Khowaresmian power was annihilated by that savage conqueror. The good Shah, Mohammed, perished on his flight in a desert island of the Caspian Sea; his valiant

son, Djelal-ed-Din Mankberní, one of the glorified heroes of Oriental poetry, surrounded by his faithful Khowaresmians, cut his way from the Indus to the Euphrates. Here he fell beneath the dagger of a Kurd assassin; but his warlike bands, pursuing rapidly their march to Palestine, prostrated Saracens and Mamlooks, Templars and Crusaders, burnt and destroyed Jerusalem and her sacred sepulchre in 1244, and carried their destroying arms to the frontiers of Egypt. There they dispersed; their chiefs, as mercenary *condottieri*, took service among the small princes of the Seldjukian Turks, on the Euphrates, and in Asia Minor, and the terrible name of Khowaresmian vanished from the page of history. They were devout Mohammedans; their cavalry was unsurpassed; and they cherished that peculiar affection for their steeds which is the universal characteristic of all the nations of the steppes.

277. VII. THE DILEMIDS or *Ziads*—1080.—The lands south of the Caspian Sea, *Mazanderan* (Tabarestan) and *Ghilan*, were, from remote antiquity, celebrated for their fertility and beauty, and the martial character of their inhabitants—the Mardi, Hyrcanians, and Parthians. The high mountain ridges of *Caspius* and *Labuta*, on the south, protected them from the Arabian conquerors; the fleeing Magi, as well as the persecuted Alite heretics, found a refuge on the secluded shores of that inland sea. Later, when the country had recognized the sovereignty of the caliphs, the Saracen governors did not tarry to declare themselves independent. Merdavidsch extended his dominion over *Ghilan*, *Kohestan*, across the Median plains to *Irak* and *Fars* in A. D. 927, and in order to appear as the genuine descendant of the ancient Persian great-kings, he imitated their splendid court and their luxury, and supported his dignity by the Turkish mercenary bands, who flocked to his banner. Order and tranquillity revived in that remote and happy region, under the sway of four princes of the Dilemid dynasty; their residence was *Scheristan* in Dilem, on the southwest coast of the Caspian Sea; science, literature,

and commerce flourished under their protection; their young princes enjoyed the most careful education, a memorial of which is the curious book of Kiekawus: *the mirror of the worthy sovereign.* Kabus Shemsil-al-Mali (sun of highness), was both poet and historian, but his natural ferocity and his relations to his powerful neighbors, the Buids, continually entangled him in wars. After his death by the hand of a Turkish soldier, the realm of the Dilemids was conquered by the Seldjuks and the Ismaelites, who divided the spoils.

VIII. THE BUIDS—1056.—This remarkable dynasty took its origin from the warlike sons of the fisherman Bujah-Ben-Shetsa—Ali, Hassan, and Ahmed, who had served in the army of Merdavidsch of Dilem. Ali raised the banner of revolt in Kertch, and with the assistance of his brothers he soon subjected *Kom*, *Kasbin*, and *Ray* (Rhagae), the important defile toward Khorasan (210), and ruled over all Persia. His capital was SHIRAZ, situate in one of the most delightful valleys of the world.[95] The caliph of Bagdad recognized his independence and sought his alliance, and already the third Buid sovereign, Ahmed Moez-ed-Daula (arm of the realm), had become so powerful that the intimidated caliph was forced to nominate him *Emir-al-Omrah.* The Buids extended their sway victoriously over all Persia, and ruled from the Euphrates to the

[95] Shiraz in Farsistan, thirty miles southeast of the celebrated Persepolis (now in ruins), has a splendid climate, abundant crops of rice, wheat, and barley, the finest fruits, larger in size and more delicate in taste than those of Europe; the grapes, oranges, and apricots of Shiraz are the pride of the Persians. In spring the air is mild, and perfumed with the odor of the finest flowers, and the eye delights in the rich and varied colors that, like a carpet, cover hill and dale. The garden nightingale (the bûl-bûl), the goldfinch, and the linnet, unite at this season their melodious accents. Nor is the beauty and elegance of the Shiraz women less celebrated than the politeness and honesty of its citizens. With so many attractions, Shiraz has become the most desirable residence in Persia, and the favored retreat of its poets—a Hafiz, a Sa'ady, or a Diamy, who have sung its praise in their tender and harmonious strains.

frontiers of Khorasan, where they came in hostile contact with the Ghasnavids by whom they were repelled in 1039. But in Bagdad they maintained their dignity as great emirs and viziers of the caliphs, until, weakened by their own violent family feuds, they became, in 1056, an easy prey to the Sultans of the Seldjuk Turks.

C.—Mohammedan Dynasties in Syria.

278. IX. The Hamadanids, Kelabids, and Okailids—1086—from the tribe of Thaleb, formed, in 892, their petty dynasties in Mesopotamia and Syria. The former were divided into two lines, the *Hamadanids* of Mossul (A. D. 892–978), and those of *Haleb*, who were vanquished by the Kelabids in 1014. The realm of the latter, on the Tigris and Euphrates, was overthrown seventy years afterwards (in 1084), by the Okailids, who had already possessed themselves of Mossul in 996. These small Mohammedan dynasties are more interesting to us on account of the flourishing state of Arabian literature at their courts, than from the influence they exerted on the political events of the times. Several of these princes, such as Seif-ed Daula of Mossul, were themselves poets or philosophers, and they united around their thrones the most distinguished men in every branch of art and science, at that time more appreciated by the Arabs, than among the hunting and fighting princes of Christian Europe.

D.—Sects of Mohammedan Heretics.

279. X. The Karamathians in Arabia.—The early heretical sects which sprung up in the Mohammedan creed, differ in their character entirely from those which disturbed the Christian church after its recognition by Constantine in the beginning of the fourth century, because they were not dogmatical, but political; they arose about the legitimate succession of the Prophet, with-

out touching on the main doctrines or tenets of the Koran itself. The great schism in the East began as early as the election of Abu-Bekr instead of Ali, the husband of Fatima the daughter of Mohammed, in 632. Later, some sectarians claimed the succession for Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali—the *Seidijé*—others recognized only the third son of Ali as successor—the *Kaissanié*. The Mohammedan mystics—the *Ghullat*—attributed divine qualities to Ali, and pretended that he stood in the relation to God—*Allah*—"*as a son to the father;*" others again, and those were the most dangerous, believed in a second advent of the Prophet, intended to restore virtue, peace and happiness on earth; these were the terrible *Karamathians*, from the Arabian desert. Babek-Churrami preached the reform in Syria during the first half of the ninth century. The masses flocked around the enthusiastic preacher; the most horrible cruelties were committed; more than twenty thousand human beings perished in tortures, and the whole country was strewn with corpses and ruins. The fanatical spirit having once been excited, Al-Faradsh-Ebn-Osman-al-Karmath[96] appeared in 890 as the representative of Mohammed, preaching the advent of a seventh and last prophet, Ismael-Ebn-Djafer, in whom all divine secrets would be deposited. He gave a mystic interpretation to the Koran, and employed a most effectual and cunning deceit by initiated *Dais*, to spread his fantastical doctrines. These missionaries soon formed in the interior of Arabia a numerous band of followers—the Karamathians—who, victorious in the eastern province of Bahrain, advanced, sword in hand, to the gates of Bagdad, where the caliph sat trembling on his throne. *Raca*, *Ba'albek*, *Bassra*, *Kufah*, were laid in ashes; in 929, Mecca shared the same fate. Thirty thousand people were butchered during

[96] Al Faradsh took his name from the small town of *Karmath*, near Kufah, in Al-Batayeh on the Euphrates, and assumed the lofty title of *the Guide, the Director, the Demonstration, the Word, the Holy Ghost, the Camel, the Herald, and the Forerunner of the Prophet and of the Angel Gabriel.*

the defence; the *Beit-Allah* was desecrated; the black stone carried off in triumph, and not brought back to Mecca until in 950. After having spread devastation and murder over the Oriental world for nearly a century, the Karamathians were at last exterminated in 985, by Samsam-ed-Daula, but their bloody sect revived later in the ISMAILIYEH or *Ismaelites*, on Mount Lebanon in Syria, and the still more terrible ASSASSINS, at Rudbar and Lamsir in Dilem, on the shores of the Caspian Sea.

E.—MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN AFRICA.

280. XI. THE TULUNIDS IN EGYPT.—The governor of *Dejar-Messr*, or Egypt, Ahmed-Ben-Tulun, declared himself independent of the caliph in 868. He took the title of Sultan, and repelled all the attacks of the Abbasids; but his successors became weakened by their internal quarrels, and in the year 905, Egypt fell back to the caliphate.

XII. Mohammed-al-Ikhschid, however, imitated the example of the Tulunids in 935; all was again rebellion and confusion. Abul-Kasem and Abul-Hassan-Ali succeeded him; but the Ikhschids were defeated and expelled in 969, by the intelligent and brave Moez-Ledin-Illah, the Fatimid.

XIII. The FATIMIDS pretended to descend from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, and Ali, his faithful vizier. They had destroyed the Aglabid chiefs of *Kaïrouan* in Magreb-al-Ausah. Moez engaged an army of Berbers, and (213) marched upon Egypt. The defenceless country fell into his power; he established himself at *Kahira* (Cairo), on the Nile, and took the proud title of Caliph and Emir of the faithful. His successors maintained themselves by shrewd politics, against the Abbasids; they penetrated into Syria, and took possession of Jerusalem. Hakem Beamrillah, the third caliph, became the venerated founder of the religious sect of the Druses, though he appears to us a madman. Prompted by some sus-

picion against the Christians, he ordered the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem to be demolished in 1010—an order which was carried into execution by the governor of Ramleh. The building was razed to the foundations, and much labor was expended to deface and destroy every trace of the sepulchre of the Saviour itself.[97] His laws against *women* were as absurd as his lectures in his temple of wisdom. Every Monday and Wednesday the members of the wisdom-society assembled for theological disputations. They formed a university partaking strongly of Ismaelitic sectarianism. The *house of wisdom* was built in Cairo, and furnished with libraries, mathematical instruments, professors, and other officers. All persons were allowed access to the literary treasures stored therein. The caliphs often presided at the lectures; the faculties were divided into logic, mathematics, medicine, and law, and the Mohammedan professors donned their doctorial mantles, as did their Christian brethren in the mediæval universities of Europe two centuries later. The successors of Hakem hid themselves in the seraglio; they lost all influence, and on the death of the eleventh Fatimid, Ahded-Ledin-Illah, in 1171, the great Kurd, Sala-ed-Din—the son of Ejub, mounted the throne of Egypt.

The first Arabian conquerors treated that country with barbarity; they did not spare the magnificent monuments of antiquity, and employed the stones of the pyramids for their buildings. The Fatimids, on the contrary, protected art and literature. Cairo was by them adorned with those beautiful mosques which we still admire at the present day. Their sepulchral monuments, likewise, were reared in the noblest style of Saracenic architecture. The last caliph, Ahded, possessed the largest library that ever had been collected in any Moham-

[97] See Professor Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, vol. ii., p. 46. A cruel and senseless act, which at that time of religious veneration for the sanctuaries in Palestine, excited the highest indignation, and the deepest grief all over Europe, and began to prepare the minds for the armed occupation of the Holy Land—the crusades.

medan country. Astronomy and chemistry flourished at the court of *Hakem*, whose name has been given to the astronomical tables of the great Arab astronomer, Ebn-Yunes. Egypt was then the home of wealth and prosperity, by the fertility of its soil, by its flourishing industry, and its extensive commerce with India.[98] Thus, then, we find toward the middle of the eleventh century, the Mohammedan world broken up into quite a number of smaller dynasties in Asia and Africa, while the two contending high priests, the Abbasid[98] in Bagdad, and the Fatimid in Cairo, have lost their spiritual and secular power; and Islam would perhaps already have gone to ruins, if its followers had not been roused to a new and more violent enthusiasm, by the gigantic invasion of the Christian arms from the West.

Such was the state of the East when the rapid conquests of the Turkish Sultans in Asia Minor began to threaten the existence of the Byzantine empire; and their occupation of Syria and Palestine at once roused the indignation of the warlike and pious Christian nations of Europe, and brought on those migrations and expeditions to the Holy Land, which for nearly two centuries—1096–1291, changed the geographical position of nearly all the leading nations in Orient and Occident.

The following chapter, and the accompanying map, will serve to exhibit these changes.

[98] The shrewd merchants of Egypt kept all knowledge about India a secret among themselves, and answered to the inquiries of the Venetians that the wind wafted the precious spices and incense from the trees of the earthly paradise; that the Nile carried them along from his unknown springs, and that it required deep mystical lore, and a particular art, to fish them out of the water!

CHAPTER VII.

EUROPE, WESTERN ASIA, AND NORTHERN AFRICA;

THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY DURING THE TIMES OF THE CRUSADES—A. D. 1096–1291.

A. Condition of the Christian and Mohammedan World before the First Crusade.

281. Division.—At this important period in the world's history, when the great religious movement in the West precipitated Europe upon Asia, we find twenty-six principal and independent states and nations in Europe and the adjacent parts of Asia and Africa, the greater part of which participated more or less ardently in those events. Of these states, eight were situated in Northern Europe. I. The kingdom of *Ireland;* II. that of *Scotland;* III. that of *England;* IV. that of *Denmark;* V. that of *Slavinia*, or *Vendland;* VI. that of *Norway;* VII. that of *Sweden;* and VIII. the Grand Duchy of *Russia.* Five of these had, at the beginning of the eleventh century, belonged to the empire of Canute the Great, and they took, with the exception of England, no part in the first crusade. In central Europe we find five states, in some of which the movement was responded to with enthusiasm; they were, IX. the kingdom of *France;* X. the *Romano-Germanic Empire;* XI. the kingdom of *Poland;* XII. that of *Hungary;* and XIII. the Chanates of the *Uzi* and *Kumani*, or *Polovtzi.* In Southern Europe we behold six states, all with fanaticism, armed against the Mohammedans of the East and South: these were: XIV. the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile;* XV. that of *Aragon* and

Navarra; XVI. the small kingdom of *Valencia*, all in Spain; XVII. the Norman duchy of *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily;* XVIII. the *Italian* republics; and XIX. the *Byzantine* empire. In Western Asia, four states, or groups of states had been formed on the ruins of the caliphate of Bagdad; they were, XX. the sultanate of *Rum*, in Asia Minor; XXI. the sultanates of the *Ortokids* in *Mardin* and *Diarbekir*; XXII. the states of the *Atabeks* in Al-Djesirah and Persia, and XXIII. the *Turkish* principalities of *Antioch*, *Halep* and *Damàscus*, in Syria. In Northern Africa and Southern Spain, we find three powerful Mohammedan empires; they were, XXIV. the caliphate of the *Fatimids* in Egypt; XXV. the kingdom of *Kairouan* (Mahadia), and XXVI. the empire of the *Almoravids* in Magrab-al-Aksa and Andalos (Spain).

I. NORTHERN EUROPE BETWEEN 973 AND 1096

The Empire of Canute the Great, a. d. 1016–1035.

282. Denmark, England (Bretland), and Norway were, in the beginning of the eleventh century, united under the sceptre of Knud Swendson or Canute the Great. *Swedes*, *Welsh*, and *Scots* rendered homage to that active and successful monarch, who seemed destined to lay the foundation of a mighty empire in the North. Yet a point of concentration was wanting; the different nations of the empire were situated too far off from one another, and a reign of nineteen years was not sufficiently long to accomplish the amalgamation. Nor did King Knud leave any enterprising and talented prince behind him to continue and fully to carry through the great idea of union. A speedy separation therefore took place on the death of the Danish monarch in 1035. But the political and social consequences of this temporary union of all the Northmen under the raven banner of Denmark was nevertheless of great importance. The desolating piracies of the Danish and

Norwegian Vi-kings terminated for ever with the conquest of England, and the well-organized government of an enlightened Christian King, and the final introduction of Christianity and civilization among the half barbarous Northmen, was then most auspiciously accomplished by the strenuous exertions of the English bishops and missionaries, who were by King Knud promoted to the episcopal sees in his states.[99] We shall now give a short description of the geographical and political position of the northern regions during the eleventh century, before the beginning of the great crusade to the East, and the military expeditions of the Danish kings for the conversion of the Sclavonian and Lettic nations on the southern coasts of the Baltic.

I. Kingdom of Ireland.

283. Internal Feuds, Expulsion of the Danes, and Conquest of Henry II.—The internal history of the five kingdoms of Ireland (219), during the tenth and eleventh centuries, is better known than that of Scotland during the same period. It presents, however, nothing but wars among the clans, invasions of the coasts by the *East-men*, or confederacies of the Irish princes against those foreigners who already possessed the whole eastern and southern portions of the island. In the year 1014, Brian Boru, who stands recorded in the an-

[99] Canute conferred many bishoprics on English prelates in Skaane, Sealand, and Fyen. St. Olaf of Norway, and King Olaf Skötkonning of Sweden, also invited priests and monks from England for the conversion of their subjects, as Sigefried, Siegeward, Wulfried, Rodulf, and others. The consecration of these bishops was performed by Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, who strove with all his might to obtain for the English Church the supremacy over that of the north. The Archiepiscopal See of Hamburg, powerfully supported by Rome with investitures, and by the Benedictine Order with devotion and learning, was then zealously engaged in the extirpation of heathenism in the north. See the excellent history of the Anglo-Saxon Kings by Dr. J. M. Lappenberg. London, 1845. Vol. II., page 204 *et seq.*

nals of Ireland as a model of royal virtues, a valiant hero, and a consummate statesman, raised himself to the sovereignty of the whole island. He then gathered the native forces, and advancing upon *Dublin*, the capital of the Danes, defeated them totally in the bloody battle at *Clontarf*, where they lost their thousand celebrated *mail-men*, and after another rout of the Dublin Danes in 1072, the Northmen were driven from their last stronghold, and expelled from the island. Brian himself fell, and the civil wars among the Canfinnies flashed up more violently than ever. The moral and social condition of the Irish people during the latter half of the eleventh century, was "as wretched," says Thomas Moore, in his history of Ireland, "as can almost be conceived;" and it appears that even the austere discipline of the Church gave way in this general degeneration and confusion. All these disorders made a national synod necessary. It came together at *Kells* in Meath in 1152, under the presidence of a Romish Cardinal. Tithes were here introduced for the support of the clergy, and archiepiscopal palls distributed to the Bishops of *Dublin*, *Cashel*, and *Tuam* under the archiepiscopal chair of *Armagh*. The ecclesiastical revolution thus tranquilly and speedily effected, was followed by another of a political nature, which might have had beneficial consequences for the Irish nation. Roderic O'Connor, the king of Connaught, was elected sovereign king at the great convention of *Athboy* in 1167. There, besides the heads of the church, the Canfinnies and their vassals met to the number of thirty thousand horse and foot, and swore allegiance to their king-elect. Yet the Irish people was not destined to progress by its national development to civilization and happiness. Dermod M'Morchad, king of Leinster, who, on account of an atrocious breach of hospitality and his unchained passions, had been driven from the island, fled to England, and applied to Henry II. to replace him on his throne, offering to hold his kingdom under the English monarch as the price of his restoration. Richard de Clare (Strongbow) and other warlike English nobles, at the head of their knights and archers,

then landed on the coast of Leinster in 1169, and by their superior Norman armature and tactics, defeated the Irish in every battle. Though only some few hundreds, the Norman-English stormed and took Wexford and Dublin, and routing King Roderic and his unwieldy masses in a great battle, Strongbow remained the master in eastern Ireland. In 1172, King Henry came himself to Ireland with a splendid train of noblemen and troops, and the English thus secured a firm footing in Leinster and Munster, where they built *Carrick*, *Kilkenny*, and other castles. The petty chieftains did homage to Henry, and received him in Dublin with all the pomp of a sovereign. The Pope Adrian had earlier (1154) granted the English king the sovereignty over Ireland, on the condition of reducing it completely under the spiritual authority of the Roman see, and paying the Peter's pence. This title had lain dormant during the troubles with France; but the ecclesiastical council held at Cashel near Tipperary, now at once recognized the bull and the Papal donation. Large tracts of lands were then portioned out among the principal English knights and warriors, the system of the English feudal laws and tenures was introduced, and a commencement thus formed for establishing the British dominion throughout the island. During this period the portion of the island subject to the English laws was called *Pale;* it extended over the southeastern part of Munster, Leinster, and the east coast of Ulster, and was divided into twelve counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Kildare*, *Uriel* (Louth), *Catherlough* (Carlow), *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Kilkenny*, *Kerry*, *Limerick*, and *Tipperary*. Yet the tranquillity thus effected by the sword of a foreign invader was more nominal than real. The English barons themselves soon split into two contending factions—English by *blood* and English by *birth*—the old conquerors and their descendants who, by intermarriages with the native Celts, had acquired the Irish customs, habits, and prejudices; and the proud barons from England, who later came over to the island, with the hope of obtaining grants of castles and lucrative situations under the royal government. The former

gathered their Irish vassals under their banner, and all was again dissension and civil war. The horrors of this state of internal anarchy in Ireland continued throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were still increased by the Scottish invasion of Robert Bruce, who after his glorious victory over Edward II. at Bannockburn in 1314, sent his brother, Edward Bruce, to make a diversion against the English in Ireland. The brilliant Edward for three years kept the field victoriously against his mortal foes, but perished in 1318, in the battle on the *Faughard* near Dundalk, and with him the hopes of a union with Scotland.

II. Kingdom of Scotland.

284. Internal Organization and Relations to England. —The history of Scotland remains still enveloped in darkness after the union of the Picts and the Scots or Dalriads, as the Gaelic tribes of the Highlands were called by Beda. The successors of Kenneth II. availed themselves of the confusion which the Danish wars occasioned in England to extend their dominion over the south. Canute entered Scotland with an army in the year 1031, and advancing through the Lowlands, forced King Malcolm II. to acknowledge him as his liege lord. Malcolm III., Kenmore, in the subsequent period, gave shelter to the Anglo-Saxon refugees who had escaped the Norman sword at Hastings. He married the sister of Edgar Ætheling, and supported the English in their repeated attempts at insurrection against their Norman oppressors. But when William the Conqueror crossed the Tweed, in 1073, and devastated the Lowlands with fire and sword, the Scot became so terrified, that he met the invader, and rendered him homage as his vassal and liegeman. The proud William retired, satisfied with this humiliation; he fortified *Newcastle* and *Carlisle*, but permitted his Scottish vassal to retain *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and the northern portion of *Northumberland*, as fiefs of the English crown.

The Scots bore this vassalage with impatience; they often invaded the northern districts of England, and many an obstinate battle was fought with the Normans on the border. The Scottish kings continued to protect all emigrants, both outlawed Saxons and dissatisfied Norman knights, and gave them estates within the kingdom and important places in their council. The alliance of Malcolm with the Saxon princess, and the establishment of the English patriots on the borders, were events of the highest importance for the consolidation of the Scottish kingdom. The amalgamation of the Saxons and Normans with the native Pictish population was easy, and thus arose that warlike *border-knighthood* which for centuries became the bulwark of the independence of Scotland. These fierce warriors—the *moss-troopers*—built their towers or castles in the strongest positions of the Cheviot hills, or in the pathless moors; there they gathered their tenants around their strongholds, and were always in arms, and prepared for forays into the country of the enemy, or for the defence of their own (258). The borderers, high and low, the knights and their tenants, composed small communities, united by military discipline; the common danger brought together the lord of the castle and the peasant of the hamlet—the crested cavalier and the humble pedestrian boor, to whom the spur and the lance were forbidden in England and Germany (245). In Scotland they did not form separate nationalities. Each warrior was armed as he best could be, in complete armor or in a lined doublet; each mounted his war-steed or his pony. The peasant, whom the arrogant Norman disdainfully called *villain*, was in Scotland styled *gude-man;* and the same language was then spoken in the castle, the town, and the cottage. The Lowlands having thus been divided among military chiefs, the feudal system was introduced in its severity; and the power of the king would have been very circumscribed, if the barons had not been continually engaged in private feuds with one another. A second cause of disorder arose from the hostility of the Gaelic inhabitants of the Highlands. The *Celts*, or ancient Scots,

had vanquished the *Picts* (220); but their native kings since Kenneth II. had allied themselves with the Gothic race, and taken their residence among them. The proud Highlander despised the men of the plain, and called them indiscriminately *Sassanach*, because they spoke the Saxon or Scandinavian dialect. The Gaelic considered their hostile descents and their levying *black-mail* in the Lowlands merely as reprisals of what had belonged to their forefathers. Yet this internal hostility between the two races in Scotland, ceased at once when the blazing beacon-fires on the border-heights announced the approaching invasion of the Anglo-Normans. The Highland clans then gathered with enthusiasm, and descending with claymore and target, joyfully joined the mail-clad barons of the plain, in every expedition against the common enemy.[100]

285. Political and Ecclesiastical Division.—The removal of the royal government to the Lowlands was followed by results disastrous to the future prosperity of the Highlands. The Gaels soon sunk into poverty and neglect; the administration of the laws in the hills became inoperative, or was so feebly enforced, that the Highlanders gave themselves up to violence and turbulence, and took justice into their own hands for those injuries which the laws of the land could no longer redress. It was then that they formed themselves into *clans* and *tribes*, which elected their chiefs, and became almost entirely independent of the crown. The power of these patriarchal chiefs was very extensive; they acted as judges and arbiters in the quarrels of their retainers and clansmen; and, being supported by their tribe, they mocked at the royal authority. The most powerful clans in the west were the *Cambells*, the

[100] For interesting sketches of the life and manners of the Scottish border-knights or moss-troopers during the middle ages, see *the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and *the Border Antiquities of England and Scotland*, by Walter Scott, and likewise his admirable poems and tales. In ballad poetry all the other nations of Europe must yield to the Scots, the Scandinavians, and the Spaniards.

Camerons, the *Macdeans*, on the peninsula of *Morven* and in the island of *Mull;* the *Macdougalls* of *Lorn*, the *Macdonalds* of *Glencarry*, the *Stewarts*, *Mackenzies*, and others. On the eastern slope of the Grampian hills resided the *Stewarts* of *Athol*, with the *Robertsons*, the *Ferguesons*, the *Gordons*, the *Grants*, the *Mackintoshes*, the *Rosses*, and others. The *Sinclairs* were situated on the northern promontory; and along the lakes in the interior, the *Frazers*, *Macphersons*, and the *Macgregors*. All the tribes scattered on the western coast of Scotland, from the Mull of *Cantire* to the northern cape, and in the Hebrides—*Innisgail*, or the Isles of the Gaels—recognized as their supreme chief the LORD OF THE ISLES, who resided at the castle of *Dunstaffnage*, in a strong position on the western coast of Argyle, the ancient abode of the Celtic kings. Sometimes he dwelt in the castle of *Artornish*, on the strait of Mull, or in the isle of *Yla* (Isla), the finest and best cultivated of the Hebrides. There were held the courts of judicature, the members of which, like the ancient Areopagites on the Mars hill at Athens, sat on seats cut out in the living rock. There, too, the chiefs of the island-clans and those of the adjacent coast presented their sovereign prince with the sword of command, while the bishop of Argyle anointed him with pompous ceremonies. The sovereign power of the Lord of the Isles, however, was more nominal than real; it did not extend over the Hebrides, because he acknowledged the king of Norway as his superior, and the bishop of that see, who resided at *Iona* (I-colm-kill), was suffragan of the ecclesiastical province of *Nidaros* in Norway (223).

The national aversion of the Highlanders for the Scots of the Lowlands, tended to maintain this purely *Gaelic royalty;* and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Lords or Kings of the Isles, of the family of the MacDonalds, treated with the kings of Scotland as independent potentates;—their rivals in ordinary times, but their faithful allies against the Norman dynasty of England, as they proved later, in 1314, when Angus-Og MacDonald, then the Lord of the Isles,

fought so bravely by the side of Robert Bruce in the battle at Bannockburn.[101]

On the eastern coast lands lay the counties of *Buguhan*, *Marr*, *Angus*, *Strathern*, *Fife*, and the viscounty of *Mernis*. The southern Lowlands were likewise divided among many powerful feudatories, and every hill was crowned with a frowning castle. The eastern county of *March* belonged to the *Stewarts;* the county of *Douglass*, the viscounty of *Teviotdale*, and the seigniory of Galloway to the *Douglasses;* the county of *Carrick* on the western coast, and the viscounty of *Annandale* on the Scottish border to the *Bruces;* the viscounty of *Tweedale* to the *Hays* and others.

The ecclesiastical division of Scotland consisted in two Episcopal Sees: I. Provincia Sancti Andreæ, with the dioceses of *Catanensis* (Caithness), *Rossensis* (Ross), and *Moraviensis* (Murray), and the suffragans of *Aberdonia* (Aberdeen), *Brechinum* (Brechin), with the splendid monastery of *Aberbrothoc; Dunkelden* on the Tay, and *Dunblan* on the Teith. II. Provincia Glascuensis, embracing the western Highlands, and the Lowlands, from the Frith of Forth to the Scottish border, with the single suffragan of *Candida casa*, Hwiterne, Wigton, in Galloway.

286. Cities, Castles, and Historical Sites.—Stirling, in the plain of Carse, on the Forth, at the western extremity of a high precipitous rock, crowned by the celebrated Stirling Castle, became an important town from its central situation, its strong fortress, and its commanding the passage over the Forth. The Scottish kings therefore often chose it for their residence, and it was the scene of several of the most thrilling events in the history of Scotland. The view from the battlements of Stirling Castle, is, in point of extent, variety, and magnificence, unequalled by any other in Britain. *Edin* or *Edwynes-*

[101] See the notes to Walter Scott's *Lord of the Isles*, and Augustin Thierry's *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans*. London, 1825. Vol. II., page 274, et seq.

burgh[102] (Edinburgh) was still a small unimportant borough. The first parliament was held there by Alexander II., in 1215, and it did not become the permanent capital of the kingdom until 1456. *Perth*, on the Tay, was, like Stirling, the royal residence in the earlier times, and the seat of a considerable trade, which the burgesses carried on in their own vessels with Flanders, and the Hanse towns on the Baltic. *Fanum Sancti Reguli—Sanct. Andreas* (St. Andrews) was built by Saint Rule, a Greek missionary from Patrae in Peloponnesus, on a lofty cliff on the coast of Fife, the Episcopal See for eastern Scotland, with magnificent churches and monasteries. *Glascua* (Glasgow), on the Clyde, early a populous and flourishing city, was the Episcopal See for western Scotland. Its jurisdiction and revenues extended over the counties of *Lanark*, *Renfrew*, *Dumbarton*, *Ayr*, *Dumfries*, *Galloway*, and the western Highlands. *Melrose Abbey*, on the Tweed, was founded by King David I. in 1136, and richly endowed with lands and privileges; it became one of the most magnificent monasteries of Scotland, though much exposed to the border forays of the English, and burnt down by Edward II. in 1316. Its beautiful ruins, in the purest Gothic style of architecture, still attract the traveller, not less than the neighboring Abbotsford, the late residence of the great Scottish novelist. *Berwyc* (Berwick), on the Tweed, the bulwark of the border, often captured by the English and retaken by the Scots, was frequently the residence of the Scottish kings, in times of danger. Celebrated border-castles and strongholds of the Scottish moss-troopers during this and the following period were: *Roxburgh* and *Jedburgh*, on the Teviot; *Seafort*, *Fernihurst* and *Eggerstaine* castles on the Cheviot hills; *Branxholm* and *Buccleuch*, in strong positions, in the upper Teviot-dale; *Langholm* and *Arkinkolm*, protecting the Eskdale; *Hoddom Castle* in Annandale, and *Dumfries* in Niddesdale.

[102] This name appears for the first time in the Charter of Foundation by King David I., given to the Abbey of Holyrood House in 1128, in which he calls the city "*Burgum meum de Edwinesburgh.*"

The manners of the Scots continued barbarous. They had few enjoyments of life. David I. collected the hitherto unwritten laws into a regular code, called *Regiam Majestatem*, from the initial words of the text. Many regulations regarding marriage and the *wehrgeld*, or compensation for manslaughter (called *cro* in the ancient Scottish dialect), were savage. King David placed the cities under a particular law; the royal officers, the *morlairs*, or mayors, had the rank and influence of the counts in the states of the continent; they were called thanes, and held the hereditary jurisdiction in their thanedoms; later, they adopted the English title of barons and viscounts. The ruling dynasty became extinct in 1288, with Alexander III. His only son had died, and he nominated his niece, Margareth of Norway, Queen of Scotland with the consent of the States. Her death during the passage in 1291, brought on that contention about the succession between the many pretenders to the crown, which forwarded the ambitious views of King Edward I. of England, and the victorious reign of Robert Bruce in our next period.

III. Kingdom of England.

287. The Danish Conquest.—Far more important are the political and social changes in England since our last visit to that island during the reign of King Edgar (221). The great Ælfred had vanquished the Northumbrian Danes, and secured the tranquillity of the country; and the permanent settlement of the Northmen in Neustria (France) in 912, gave a happy respite of nearly a century to the Anglo-Saxons in England. That fertile country was then flourishing like a garden. Yet the Saxons, nobles and commoners, living retired on their estates and farms, neglected the military institutions of Ælfred, and gave themselves up to the peaceful occupations of agriculture, and the rearing of cattle on a larger scale; and thus the Danes, on the renewal of their invasions toward the close of the tenth century, found no armed opposition; but

every where plenty of provisions, and herds of excellent steeds, with which those indefatigable warriors, as skilful horsemen upon the land, as daring sailors on the sea, rapidly organized their cavalry, and scoured the country in every direction. They took possession of Northumberland, Mercia, and East Anglia; and so sadly had the military spirit sunk among the Anglo-Saxon kings, that, instead of gathering the strength of the nation for defence, they now raised the oppressive tribute called *Dana-gelt*, to satisfy the rapacity of the invaders. The Wätlinga street (221) became again the frontier-line between the two hostile nationalities. Yet the Danish sea-kings had left the coast with their fleets under the treaty with King Æthelred II. the Unready, in 996; and only small bands of northern warriors were settled in the ceded districts on the east. Many of the Yarls lived there as guests on the estates of the English thanes, when suddenly, on the morning of Saint Brice's Day, the 13th of November, 1002, the whole Anglo-Saxon people rose in arms against their unsuspecting enemies. The dastard Æthelred had plotted a general massacre of the Danes; the most ruthless crimes were perpetrated all over the island by a nation professing Christian faith and integrity. Taken by surprise, the Danish Yarls and warriors, their families, merchants, young and old, men and women, were cowardly assaulted by the multitude of revengeful Saxons, and put to the sword, after the most heroical defence. No place of refuge proved then a sanctuary to the doomed Danes. Thousands perished; the Princess Gunhilde, sister to King Swend Fork-Beard, was dragged into the square and beheaded, with her whole family. In the awful moment of the execution the courageous lady exclaimed, in prophetic spirit, "that the slaughter of her children would cost the heart-blood of all England;" and her word proved true. The most terrible revenge was taken by her brother; for fourteen years England was desolated by King Swend, and his more celebrated son *Knud* (Canute), who, at, last, in 1016, after the total defeat of the Saxons at *Assington*, made a treaty with the brave, but unhappy Prince

Eadmund Ironside, according to which the kingdom was divided between them. *Wessex*, *East Anglia*, *Essex*, including *London*, remained to Eadmund, while King Knud obtained *Mercia*, and all the north. The sovereignty was preserved to the Saxon. But after the murder of King Eadmund by the traitor Eadric, Knud of Denmark was acknowledged supreme king of all England. The Danish dynasty ruled the island for twenty-six years; and on the death of King Hardiknud, in 1042, Edward the Confessor occupied the throne of his forefathers. Knud divided England into four large provinces: *Wessex* he reserved for his own rule; *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, were awarded to his chiefs. He was a man of great talent, benevolence, and justice, who speedily took the proper measures for healing the wounds of the bloody war. The people became soon reconciled to the new master, and felt more happy under the equitable and energetic rule of the Dane, than they had been under their native sovereigns. Knud undertook no change in the old Saxon constitution; and his splendid army of regular household troops—the celebrated *huus-karle*—brilliantly equipped in gilt armor, and mounted on magnificent steeds, somewhat in the style of imperial *Væringer*, in Constantinople (227, 262), secured the tranquillity of the island.

288. Political Institutions of the Anglo-Saxons.—The old Anglo-Saxon kings had sprung from *Woden* (Odin), and were originally only the *heretogas* or army-leaders (79), who had conquered the island. They were elected by the nobles, but became *hereditary cynings* (kings), though the succession sometimes passed to the brothers of the deceased king, to the exclusion of his sons. The powers of the German princes were limited; yet they gradually gained authority, being strongly supported by the Roman clergy, who always secured the influence to their church through that of the monarch. The manners of the Saxon court were extremely plain; the cyning was surrounded by his *folgoth—gefolge*—or train of military retainers. The *bower thane* (chamberlain) was at

the same time *hordere* (royal treasurer). The next officer of rank was the *disc-thegn*, who presented the plates at the royal board, and the *mund-skenk* (cup-bearer), who filled the drinking-horn. The *stallere* or *horse-thegn* was often both marshal and banner-bearer. The *aethlings* or nobles (79) consisted of the descendants of the old sea-kings, among whom the lands had been distributed with military tenure. The provinces were governed by an earl or yarl, as in Denmark. The *ealdorman* was the judge and count or military commander of the county. His office was not hereditary; he received his horse and armor from the king as his sworn officer, and they were sent back to the king on his death. The inferior nobles were the *thanes* or knights, who served in mail-armor on horseback; they were distinguished from the simple freeman, and possessed estates of from four to forty hides of land; they were thus the predecessors of the Norman barons after the conquest in 1066. The squires, or half-freemen of the thanes were called *drenge* (boys) in Danish, but had in Anglo-Saxon the unpleasant, though still harmless name of *knaves*. These drenge or shield-boys were bound to render military service to the proprietors of the chief manors; they were much employed as border-wardens on the Welsh and Scottish frontiers. The simple freeman was called *ceorl* (churl, villain), or *frigman* when living in the country; and *burghess* when established as a mechanic or tradesman in a town. The last class were the serfs, called *thieves*, whose forefathers had been British prisoners of war, or who themselves had lost their liberty as criminals. They were few, however, for we find not more than twenty-five thousand thieves in England at the time of the Norman conquest. The poor serfs were better treated by the Anglo-Saxons, than the similar class, the *tralle*, in Denmark; for they had their special *wehr-geld* for their protection. The annual assembly of the "wise and wealthy men," or *Witena-gemot*, consisted of the great vassals from Wales and Cumberland, the numerous clergy, the earls, the kings' thanes possessing forty hides of land, and the chosen citizens from London

called *lith-men*. The smaller thanes, the knaves and churls, and the whole mass of the nation, were not called to the diet—yet they crowded the doors and the lower end of the hall; they filled the environs with their multitude; and though they had no *vote*, they still expressed effectively the *public opinion*. They too had their influence, and often was the crowned king, with his mitred prelates and high-capped earls, obliged to shape his counsel or conform his sentence according to the roaring shouts of applause or disapproval from the Anglo-Saxon masses outside. Woman had in England as high a standing as in Denmark, though the Saxon women did not appear with shield and lance like their sisters—the shield-maidens—from the Baltic (194). The petty kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, Essex, Surrey, Anglia, and the conquered Welsh and Cambrian districts, were early formed into *scirs* or shires (counties) and *hundreds*, similar to the *syssels* and *herreds* of Denmark (222). Ælfred reduced them to an equal portion in extent, mostly corresponding to the ecclesiastical division. The executive officer of the ealdorman and the count was the *scir-gerefa* or sheriff; he likewise levied taxes and contributions. The Saxon laws were mild; the high administration of justice was lodged with the king and the Witena-gemot; the former was continually journeying through the country to compose differences among the quarrelsome warriors and thanes. In the cities *guilds* were constituted for mutual protection. Several portions of England, such as Norfolk, Suffolk, and Ely, were beautifully cultivated.[103] Anglo-Saxon commerce extended to France, Flanders, and the North; the English vessels visited Iceland on account of the whale-fishing. Saxon merchants travelled to Italy; the staple commodity of England was wool, which was exported to Flanders and Germany. The rich and happy

[103] Gardening occurs among the occupations of the Anglo-Saxons. Like the Danes, they called a garden *ort-geard*, in Danish *urte-gaard* or herb-court, that is, orchard. Vineyards were flourishing in Gloucestershire and other southern counties; they were attached to every monastic establishment.

farmer lived retired on his estate, surrounded by his *geburs* or peasants, his flocks and cattle, when the clangor of the Norman trumpets on the battle-field of Hastings, proclaimed the impending change in the political and social relations of England.

289. Interesting Cities and Historical Places.—*Lunden wyc* (London) and *Southwark* extended already on the banks of the Thames, and were united by the famous old wooden bridge, the scene of so many a skirmish during the Danish war. The city was strongly fortified by walls and towers, erected on the ancient Roman foundations, and the *Fleet-ditch* filled the moat. Above the low-timbered houses of merchants and mechanics rose still, here and there, the huge remains of Roman aqueducts and temples, and the rude, spireless churches of St. Paul, Saint Martin-le-Grand, and many others. High-walled, gloomy monasteries and nunneries were located in every ward of the town. The *Tower* of Constantine, on the east, was still standing; while another castle (now Temple-bar) protected the mouth of the Fleet-ditch on the west. The roofs of the dwellings were thatched and reeded; the windows had no glass panes, but were closed by linen blinds. The streets were unpaved and muddy. Large squares opened in the interior, planted with clusters of trees, and divided by low palisades, where the motley and picturesque crowds of skin-clad Scandinavians, turbaned and caftaned Saracens, Lombard bankers in silken gowns, tight-dressed Germans, mail-clad Normans, and eagle-eyed and eagle-beaked Jews in flowing oriental drapery—all jostling one another—all intent upon business and traffic, already began to foreshadow the future mart of the world's commerce. West of the city, on the Thames, rose the huge cathedral of Westminster, built in the Saxon style by Edward the Confessor; beautiful vineyards covered Holborn hill and Smithfields; and the monks were not only remarkably expert in working their vine-gardens, but they even knew how to season their sour harvest with pigment, honey, and odoriferous spices, and they thus produced a very

palatable beverage. The most interesting place in "Old Lunnen" was the *guild-hall*, where the burgesses and the neighboring thanes and knights, under the presidence of their *ealdormen*, formed their brotherhood—the *guild-brothers*—who in those lawless times gave full security to the lives and property of that industrious and enterprising corporation. The London burgesses ruled there like sovereigns, and were exempted from the jurisdiction of the king's *gerefas* or palatine counts. The jolly guild-brothers, with their broadswords at the baldric, assembled in their hall to feast, to receive their foreign guests, to form their funeral processions, and to discuss the measures for the conservation of peace and order among the members.[104]—*Otford*, in Kent, where King Eadmund Ironside vanquished Canute in a pitched battle, and might have destroyed the Danish army but for the treachery of Eadric, who by his wiles induced the victor to desist from the pursuit of the retiring enemy.—*Sceorstane* (Sherston), in Wiltshire, where, the year before the former battle, 1013, Eadric already by his treachery had occasioned the defeat of Edmund and the Anglo-Saxon army. In the heat of the struggle, when the Danes began to give way, the yarl struck off the head of one of his own men, who in features and complexion bore resemblance to King Eadmund, and lifting it on his lance in sight of his warriors, called aloud that the king had fallen, and that they were to save their lives by speedy flight.—*Assandun* (Assingdon), on the *Sture*, in Essex, was the battle-field of that last great conflict between Canute and Eadmund, where the Saxons stood their ground till sundown, and continued fighting even by moonlight, when they, at last, were surrounded by the Danes and dispersed in all directions.—*Olney*, a small island in the Severn, where the two kings met after the battle of Assingdon, in 1016, and divided the country between them;—*Shaftesbury*, in Dorsetshire, where

[104] London had then likewise a chief municipal tribunal from the times of King Canute, which was called with a Danish name, *huus-thing*, or jury-assembly of sworn citizens; from this is derived our modern *hustings*.

King Canute died, in 1035; and *Winchester*, eastward, in Hampshire, where his body was deposited in the burial-vault of the West-Saxon kings;—*Stamford-Bridge*, on the Dervent, east of York, the place where Harold Godwinson, the last Saxon king, vanquished in battle his rebellious brother Tostig and King Harald Haardraade of Norway; who both perished by the sword in 1066, eight days before the battle at Hastings; —*Senlac*, near Hastings, in Sussex, on the southern coast. There, on the hilly ridge of *Battle*, where in later times stood the *Battle-Abbey*, took place the most sanguinary and eventful struggle in British history, on the 16th October, 1066, in which Harold Godwinson and the flower of the Anglo-Saxon chiefs and warriors perished, and William the Conqueror and his Norman knights with one blow overthrew the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

290. Acquisitions of the Saxon and Danish Kings, from Eadgar to William of Normandy.—King Eadgar (959–975) had already armed large fleets, with which he reduced the Danish sea-kings in Ireland by the conquest of Dublin (219). The Britons were driven out of *Cumberland* and *Strath-Clyde*, and both provinces became Scottish principalities under English suzerainty (103). Eadgar granted King Kenneth of Scotland the enfeoffment of Lothian, which afterwards led to the permanent incorporation of the Scoto-Saxon Lowlands with the Scoto-Gaelic kingdom. *Edin* (Edinburgh) had already been evacuated by the Saxons, and fallen into the possession of the Scottish king Ingulf. Canute not only received the homage of the Welsh princes, but he undertook in his old age a successful campaign into Scotland, and brought speedily King Malcolm and the petty dynasts, Mælbathe (Macbeth) and Jehmarc, under his sovereign authority. Edward the Confessor maintained his dignity in the north by the heavy sword of Earl Siward of Northumberland; and Harold Godwinson gained his knightly spurs in his brilliant battles against the Welsh invaders of the Saxon plains. In 1063 he subdued North Wales; Griffith, the native prince, fell, and every Welshman

who appeared in arms on the east border of *Offa's Trench* was to be punished with the loss of his sword-hand. William of Normandy left the Scottish king in possession of Cumberland, but he built the strong fortress of *Carlisle*, on the Eden, as a testimony of his supremacy. The Welsh had, however, during the Norman war thrown off the yoke, and remained armed and independent behind the bulwark of their mountains.

291. THE NORMAN CONQUEST, AND POLITICAL REFORM.—While the other Germanic nations of continental Europe advanced with giant steps toward a higher civilization, the Anglo-Saxon people had remained stationary. England, with her weak, priest-ridden kings, her indolent and wrangling witan-gemote, her mass-singing monks and bluff-faced aethlings, had abolished the military institutions of Canute the Dane, without substituting any national defence, even against the light-footed mountaineers of Wales, who, in spite of the heroic exertions of Harold Godwinson, from their western strongholds, ravaged the cultivated fields of the Saxons. A peaceful, religious king and a cattle-breeding nation, without army, fleets, or fortresses, were for thirty years witnessing the astounding activity of their warlike neighbors, the Normans, beyond the Channel. Edward the Confessor died in 1042, leaving the contested succession to the brave and talented Harold Godwinson; who, however, was unable to stem the torrent of events. The battle of Hastings decided the downfall of the old Saxon kingdom, by the destruction of thousands and the misery of millions of good-natured Saxons beneath the sword of the foreign invader. For their time had passed, and a new era, of Norman superiority in politics, ideas, arms, and civilization had sprung up. Young nations, brilliant with vigor and enterprise, are always irresistible. So were in antiquity the Greeks, so the Romans—so is in our own day the young American republic; though the influence of religion and civilization always will decide the character and the means by which the sweeping dominion is exerted.—The Normans had long ago burnt their piratical dragon-ships (236); they had mounted their war-steeds, and,

for the first time, they now brandished the lance of chivalry. That institution had sprung from the spirit of the age; it was hailed with enthusiasm by all the Germanic races of Europe. But it was still juvenile and inexperienced—it had not yet gained its golden spurs;—it was on the gory battle-field of Hastings, among heaps of slaughtered thanes and aethlings, knaves and churls, who with the ponderous battle-axe of barbarism made the vain attempt to stay the rush of time—it was there that chivalry was dubbed, strengthened, and consolidated, by the foundation of feudality in its severest forms in conquered England.

The fall of King Harold, the dispersion of the dismayed Anglo-Saxons, and the surrender of London, at once secured the conquest of England. William of Normandy was the man for so great an undertaking; he was as prudent a statesman as he was a bold and successful warrior. Though he flattered the English, he riveted their chains by the introduction of the feudal military system of Normandy. He undertook no change in the internal division of the country; the *shires* and their *hundreds*, the *dioceses* of the church, and the general administration of the cities, remained Anglo-Saxon, as they had been under the Danish and Saxon kings. But he distributed domains, castles, villages, and even entire towns to his Norman barons and knights, while their vassals were again rewarded with smaller portions. Towers and fortified castles arose in every direction. To overawe the city of London, the conqueror took up his abode in the Tower, which he enlarged and strengthened. Here he raised his dreaded banner, bearing the three lions; and similar menacing ensigns floated over several new castles on the west of the capital. In the organization of his government, and, as his power depended on the sword alone, all grants and fiefs awarded to laymen and ecclesiastics were burdened with the condition of furnishing, whenever required, a certain number of horsemen, completely armed; and by this regulation, called *Knights'* service, the king was enabled to raise, in a brief space, an army of sixty thousand cavalry. The tenants

of the crown exacted a similar and proportional service from their dependents, and thus the feudal chain was linked, and held the whole system together. The count or governor of the province stood next in rank to the king; then followed the viscount, the baron, the knight, the squire, and the sergeant-at-arms,—all considered as nobles, and each one of them by his feudal estate dependent on his immediate liege-lord, whose banner or summons he followed. A general survey, *terrier*, or rent-roll, was made of all territory in England, as far north as the province of York, the particulars of which were inserted in the great roll of Winchester, by the Saxons called the book of the last judgment—the celebrated *Doomsday-Book*—perhaps because it contained their irrevocable sentence of ex-propriation. From this minute document we learn that seven hundred large estates were awarded to the leaders of the Norman army, the Barons; their estates were again subdivided into sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen *mesne-fiefs*, held by their *valvasors* (vavasors) with military tenure; of these, no less than twenty-eight thousand and fifteen belonged to the church. The smaller and less important estates were, by special favor, left in the possession of the Saxons; and few were those who continued to be free proprietors, or *tenants-in-chief*, ranging directly under the crown. All the rest of the dispersed Saxons were found only in the lowest rank. Some names of Anglo-Saxon extraction belonged to farmers settled on the domains of Norman barons, knights, or servants-at arms.[106] Thus William the Conqueror commanded the service

[106] By this cruel and arbitrary decree, the entire body of the Norman conquerors, though scattered and distributed over the vast territory of the vanquished Saxons, remained still united by the link of duty and military discipline, and, as it were, marshalled in the same battle-array as on the field of Hastings. The subaltern warrior owed faith and service to his military superior; and the knight who held lands from the baron was bound to vault into the saddle at his summons. But this singular division did not stop here; the knight himself gave a portion of his tenure to his squires, and these again to their servants-at-arms (sergeants), the lowest order of horsemen; nay, even to their

of a large feudal army at its own expense; but he, like Charlemagne, knew the advantage of having bodies of *household troops* of his own (167), in whom he might put greater trust, and of whose services he could permanently dispose. By the allurement of high pay, William therefore gathered adventurous warriors from every part of France, Flanders, and Brittany, even from Germany and Spain, under his lion-banner; and he quartered them upon the poor suffering Saxons, according to the proportion of their possessions. With an army so completely organized, William was enabled to crush every attempt at insurrection among the down-trodden English, and he could even venture to punish any encroachment of his own arrogant chiefs from Normandy. Many of the latter, supposing themselves ill-rewarded for their services, fled to Scotland, where we have seen them well received, and afterwards forming together with the English exiles, the body of the vigilant Scottish moss-troopers, or border wardens (284).

The spoliation and taxation inflicted on the towns and boroughs was as great as that put upon the Saxon thanes, and other landed proprietors; and it is only in the next period, during the crusades, that we can discover the slow development and final emancipation of the cities. A large tract of country,

valets, or grooms, who attended to the baggage, or served on foot as light infantry and bowmen. The rank of the king's vassals, in the language of the times, ran: *duke, count, viscount, baron, chevalier, esquire, sergeant* and *valet*. William the Conqueror himself stood as Duke of Normandy immediately under the crown of France, but in England he was a sovereign prince by the sword. During a period of war and spoliation, the most extraordinary fluctuations would necessarily take place in rank and fortune. Talents and bravery, or the chances of war, would carry the warrior rapidly from the lowest grade to the highest. Many a poor adventurer, who crossed the channel in his quilted cassock, with a bow in his hand, would afterwards appear to his countrymen, who came over after him, mounted on his war-steed, and brandishing the knightly lance. Nay, this system of obedience served even to control the haughty bearing of the churchmen themselves, because they likewise held their estates with military tenure, which would be forfeited if they refused to send their vassals to the army.

extending for thirty miles, between Salisbury in Wiltshire and the sea, was laid waste, and converted into wood by the conqueror. This was the *nova foresta*, or new forest, which did not only serve as a royal chase, but had the special object of insuring the Norman recruits a safe place of disembarkation on their arrival on the coast of England from the continent, where no Saxon enemy could molest them. William secured his northern frontiers by fortifying the cities of Newcastle and Carlisle; but he was too much occupied in England and Normandy to molest the Welsh behind their mountains. Having thus laid the sound foundation of his dominion in England, William died in 1087, and his successors, William Rufus, Henry I., and Stephen of Blois, ruled England and Normandy until the year 1154, when the Plantagenet dynasty (1154–1272) mounted the throne with Henry II. No remarkable geographical changes took place during this period, until the marriage of Eleanor of Poitiers with Henry the Second at once transferred the finest provinces of France to the crown of England, and gave rise to those pretensions which for three centuries kept the two rival nations in almost continual hostility towards each other.

IV. Kingdom of Denmark.

292. Dynasties, Constitution and Manners.—We are now approaching the most brilliant period in the mediæval history of Denmark. The union of the mainland of Jutland, the islands, and Skaane (222) under the sceptre of King Gorm the Old, in 883, and the introduction of Christianity under his son, Harald Bluetooth, were auspicious events, which, during the reign of King Knud the Great, caused a remarkable change in the ideas, manners, and institutions of the warlike Danish nation. Knud, while occupied in conquering England and Norway, gave his most zealous encouragement to the propagation of the Christian faith at home, and it soon supplanted the ancient superstition. One half of the nation had still adhered to the worship of Odin; but churches and monasteries were then erected, and filled with English and German priests

and monks. Knud himself went to Rome in 1027, and was magnificently received both by the German Emperor and the Pope. Piracy had ceased with the more regular expeditions to England; the Northmen began to turn their attention to agriculture and the arts of peace. Knud introduced a certain splendor into his court and army, and the comforts of civilized life penetrated from the south into the north, among the still rude Scandinavians. The Danes excelled in shipbuilding; their war-ships, or *dragons*, brilliantly painted and gilded, answered the double purpose of swift-sailing vessels and towering fortresses. For the purpose of organizing the naval force of the kingdom, all the coasts of the islands were divided into districts, each of which furnished a certain number of ships, that were manned by maritime conscription. Yet the conquests of that period were of no lasting advantage to Denmark; the extensive dominions of Knud the Great were, on his death, in 1035, partitioned among his sons. The crown of Norway was soon lost to the brave Magnus the Good, the son of Saint Olaf. England, after the short reigns of his sons Harald Harefod (light-footed), and Horda-Knud, fell back to Edward the Confessor, of the old Saxon dynasty of Æthelred, while the national diet in Denmark elected Svend Estridson, son of a sister of Knud, whose dynasty, under many vicissitudes and civil wars, occupied the Danish throne from 1035 to 1412. The ancient sea-kings and rovers had now become *Jarls*, or governors, and *Hirdmænd*, or royal court-officers, who, although without any hereditary rights, began to form an aspiring aristocracy. The clergy, too, exerted that powerful influence, which later developed itself in a truly hierarchical despotism. They supported the royal authority under the unstable and quarrelling sons of Svend Estridson, whose powers were yet very limited. All public transactions were decided at the general or provincial diets—*Rigsmöder* or *Landsthing*—held in different parts of the kingdom. These numerous assemblies consisted of the clergy, the Hirdmænd, and the free landholders, or *Bönder* (222)—a fine, independent class of men, who, with shield and broadsword, or battle-axe, surrounded the

throne. The king presided, and the mass of the free population, by acclamation, resolved on peace or war, on taxes, and other leading questions of legislation and executive power. Thus we distinctly perceive that the German and Norman-French *feudal system*, with its crested barons, prancing on their barbed coursers, and disdainfully looking down on the *Bönder*, whom they had reduced to *villains* and *serfs*, that pernicious change in the institutions of Central Europe, did not extend to Denmark before the middle of the twelfth century, after the feudal chains had been riveted for more than a century over every other part of Western Europe; nor did it ever advance farther north than Sweden, and it never got a firm footing on the rock-bound coast of Norway (223). The first written laws of Denmark were the celebrated *Vitherlags-Ret*, by Knud, given to the Huuskarle of his regular army. The old laws and observances of *Skaane* were collected and published in the beginning of the thirteenth century; those of *Sealand* and *Jutland* appeared under King Waldemar II.; the latter on the diet of Vordingborg in 1244. Several parts of Denmark, such as Skaane, Sealand, and Fyen, were highly cultivated. Mechanics and artists were called in from Germany; young Danes already visited the newly established universities of Italy and France. The *Guild*, or Brotherhood of *Roeskilde*, secured the coasts against the Vendish pirates; that of *Schleswig* served as a model for those later granted to the rising cities of Jutland and the islands. Commerce was flourishing in the earlier period; but during the civil wars of King Niels and his successors, the neglect of the naval establishments permitted the *Vendish* pirates to annihilate the commerce of Denmark, and to desolate its coasts. Yet the chivalrous race of the Waldemars (1157–1243) soon stimulated the nation to the greatest exertions; and, carrying the banner of the Cross—the *Danebrog*—victoriously to Vendland, raised the Danish nation to the highest pitch of conquest and prosperity.[106]

[106] During this period the Danish kings began to exact *toll* of the foreign ships which passed through *Oeresund*, or the Sound, into the

293. Extent, Provinces, and Cities.—In the middle of the twelfth century, Denmark extended from the frontiers of Smaaland, in Sweden, across the islands to the river Eider, which separated it from Germany. It embraced a surface of nearly eight thousand square miles, and was inhabited by a more scattered population than at the present day, for it did not amount to a million of souls. I. Skaane, with *Halland* and *Blekinge* (222), was separated from Sweden by lakes, and gloomy forests of pine and fir, where roamed the bear and the wolf, and the still fiercer robbers and outlaws, who, having found a refuge in the wilderness, waged a continual border-war similar to that of the moss-riders, on the moors of Scotland (284, 286), or the Spaniards and Saracens on the banks of the Duero (258), though not softened by the romantic and chivalrous manners of the South. Skaane was as distinguished by its splendid beech-woods, fertile soil, and high cultivation, as by its warlike and industrious inhabitants, the *Skaaningers*, who, however, from their love of liberty, were always ready to rise in arms, and involve the kingdom in dangerous rebellions. The spirit of the times, the age of church-dominion and crusades, had at last pervaded the North; more than three hundred churches, monasteries, and chapels, adorned the hills and valleys of Skaane; and in *Lundegaard*, the northern Vatican, close to the magnificent cathedral of Sancti Laurentii, in the city of *Lund*, sat the proud Archbishop of Denmark, who styled himself, "*by grace of God the primas and legate of Saint Peter over Denmark and Sweden.*" Surrounded by his steel-clad vassals and numerous clergy, he vied in splendor and power with royalty itself. Catholic enthusiasm had at once superseded the wild fanaticism for Odin and the joys of Valhalla.

Baltic. The origin of this impost is unknown, but it seems that it began to be levied as early as the twelfth century, when the Danes, being masters of *both shores*, swept the Baltic with their crusading fleets, and probably chose this way to declare their pre-eminence. In the fifteenth century their exaction was already considered to rest upon a very ancient custom. See the Geography of Maltebrun, Book 149.

New towns and villages arose around the sanctuaries of piety and peace. The white-cloaked Cistercians, and the black-hooded Benedictines, built their monasteries on the banks of the lakes; they opened their schools; they protected the peasantry that crowded around them, for the staff of the Bishop had now become a more powerful protection than the sword of the Yarl; nay, the impulse of religion even sought refuge in the depth of the forests, where the solitary bell of the hermitage assembled the wild hunters, whalers, and fishermen, to the worship of the Virgin. *Fodevig*, on the western coast, became the celebrated battle-field during the civil wars in 1034, where King Niels was defeated, and his treacherous son Prince Magnus perished, together with sixty-five bishops and prelates, who were found in full armor among the heaps of the slain. II. SEALAND (222), with *Bornholm*, *Laaland*, *Falster*, *Möen*, and the smaller islands, was then the centre of the kingdom. *Roeskilde*, the populous and open capital of Denmark, extended through gardens, fields, and hedges, along the shores of the *Issefjord*. The interior was occupied by the royal castle—*Kongsgaard*—fortified with moats and towers, and the splendid cathedral of *Sancti Lucii*, built in 1084 by Anglo-Saxon architects, in the earlier Gothic style of architecture. In order to defend the city against the expeditions of the Vendish pirates, it was surrounded by walls and moats in 1151, and protected by the Castle of *Haraldsborg*, on a promontory in the frith. In the neighboring forest of *Haraldsskov*, Prince Magnus of Denmark assassinated the noble-minded Knud Lavard, the father of Waldemar I., and first Duke of Schleswig, in 1131; and in the royal hall took place the terrific scene of the murder of the innocent King Knud V. by his rival, Svend Grathe, which caused the union of all Denmark under the sceptre of the great Waldemar I. in 1157. Sealand had already several thriving commercial cities: *Krogen*, (Elsinore), on the Sound, *Kallundborg*, *Skjelskjör*, *Wordingborg*, *Ringsted* (190), *Nestved*. *Axelhuus*, a strong fortress on the Sound, was built in 1168 by Archbishop Axel Absalon, for the

protection of the merchants' ships in the Baltic. A small town having rapidly grown up around the fortress, it was called KJÖBMANS HAVN, or *Merchant's Haven*, from which, by contraction, *Kiöbenhavn* (Copenhagen), the later capital of Denmark. Sealand had more than two hundred churches; and its wealthy monasteries, *Esrom*, on the banks of a beautiful lake in the north of the island, *Anverskov* and *Soröe*, in the interior, were as celebrated for the elegance of their architecture, as for the learning and piety of the monks.

III. FYEN, with *Langeland*, *Taasinge*, and its group of smaller islands, was called the garden of the North; on the sunny shores of *Svendborg*, the monks contrived to rear the vine; hops and fruit-trees covered the valleys; splendid forests of beech and oak, the hills; the Fyenbeer were fiery and sensual, like the Italians. The neighboring islands became dreadfully exposed to the incursions of the Vendes, during the civil feuds, and many Sclavonic names on the islands of Falster and Sealand, such as *Korselitze*, *Kramitze*, *Herritze*, *Kuditze*, seem to indicate their permanent settlement there. *Odense* (222), a handsome, populous city, with the cathedral of *Saint Albanus*. It was here that King Knud IV., while equipping an expedition, in 1086, against William the Conqueror, for the recovery of England, was assailed by the discontented multitude, and killed by a stone thrown into the church. By the influence of the clergy, the cruel, but devout king became canonized as martyr and saint, and the miracles performed at Saint Knud's shrine raised him to the rank of patron-saint of Denmark.

294. IV. NÖRRE JYLLAND—*North Jutland*—the home of the Longobards and the Jutes (80, 222), was a dreary region, covered with heath and swamps in the interior; its western coast was sandy, and its navigation dangerous because of reefs and shoals; but the deep friths on the east were smiling in beauty and fertility, and thickly inhabited, while the more open coast on the *Kattegat* and the *Baltic* remained deserted from fear of the Vendish pirates. Splendid cathedrals were built at *Viborg*, *Aarhuus*, *Ribe* and *Borgland*, the four dioceses of

Jutland, and many a monastery, such as *Vitæ Schola* and *Oxholm* on the Liimfjord, *Asmild* and *Clara Insula*, in the interior, transformed the dreary wilderness into an oasis of cultivation and wealth.

V. Syd-Jylland—*South-Jutland*, or Duchy of *Sleswig* (Schleswig).—*Ducatus Jutiæ*—was more fertile, better cultivated, and more densely inhabited than North Jutland, from which it was separated by the brook *Konge-aa* (King river). Its inhabitants were the Angles (82), who in the northern part of the province spoke the Danish, and in the south the *Low German*, or Saxon dialect.[107] Canute had obtained the cession of the German margraviate of Schleswig (222, 247), from the German emperor Conrad the Salian, during his travels to Rome in 1027; and thus the Eider once more formed the boundary between Denmark and the Romano-Germanic Empire.[108] Yet the feuds on the borders with the Vendes and Saxons rendered it necessary for the Danish kings to place a commander in South Jutland, who, with full powers and a strong body of troops, could secure the tranquil possession of the frontiers. The noble-minded Knud Lavard (Lord), the son of King Eric the Good, was therefore by his father created *dux* or *hertug* of South Jutland in 1102. Crossing the Eider, Duke Knud, in many successful campaigns, vanquished and conquered the heathen *Vagrians*, *Obotrites* and *Vendes*, who elected him their

[107] In 1837 Danish was spoken unmixed in 116 parishes, with 113,256 inhabitants, situated in the central and northern parts of the duchy. In 36 parishes, with 45,460 inhabitants, the Danish is generally spoken, but German is used in school and church. The former language is likewise spoken and understood in Tondern, Flensborg and the dioceses of Gottorp and Bredsted, with 36,000 souls—so that *Danish* is still the mother-tongue for 194,700 Schleswigers, among the 350,000 who inhabit the duchy, thus forming a decided majority.

[108] This cession by the German Emperor is confirmed by an ancient inscription—*Eidora Romani terminus imperii*, which for centuries stood over the old Holstein gate of Rendsborg. That town was then the border-fortress of Denmark, which possessed all the tolls and duties on the Eider. In the fourteenth century Rendsborg was ceded to the counts of Holstein.

king. This title was recognized by the dukes of Saxony and the counts of Holstein, and soon gave a new direction to the energy of the Waldemars, who for nearly a century became engaged in crusading expeditions and conquests on the southern coast of the Baltic. SCHLESWIG, on the *Schley*, was then a very flourishing commercial city, which sent her ships to Sweden, Russia, and England. In this city the brotherhood of Saint Knud massacred the murderer of their beloved Knud Lavard, King Niels of Denmark, who in 1134, after his defeat at Fodevig, haughtily entered the guild-hall with the words—"*I do not fear those wretched skinners and shoemakers!*" On the Schley Duke Abel caused his brother, King Eric, the successor of Waldemar II., to be beheaded in 1250. *Flensborg* on the north, and *Tondern* on the west, became thriving towns. *Locus Dei* (Lygum) and *Guldholm* were celebrated convents. On the western coast the *North Frisians* still preserved their independence, and beat back all the attempts of the Danish kings to reduce them to subjection.

V. KINGDOM OF SLAVIA OR VENDLAND.

295. EXTENT, DIVISION AND CITIES.—REGNUM SLAVINIÆ, or *Slavia*, extended from the river Eider, near Schleswig, on the west, along the southern coast of the Baltic eastward to the Oder, and in the interior, to the river Spree and the lakes of Brandenburg. It was inhabited by the powerful Sclavonic nation of the Vendes (91, 188, 227), which was subdivided into three principal tribes, on the west, the *Obotrites* and *Vagrians*, the neighbors of the Danes, the *Wiltzes* or *Welatabes* (195), on the Elbe, south toward Magdeburg, and the *Pomeranians*, on the east beyond the Oder toward the Vistula, where they bordered on the savage *Borussi* or Prussians. The dukes of Saxony began early to wage desolating wars against the Vendes, and erected some bishoprics for the introduction of Christianity among them, but without any great success. A valiant Obotrite, Prince Gottschalk,

placed himself in 1042 at the head of the nation as king of the Vendes, and extended his kingdom eastward to the Vistula. Gottschalk was a very remarkable man; he had received his education in Denmark, where he married a Danish princess. He promoted the introduction of Christianity by means of Danish and Saxon missionaries, but the violence of his reforms excited the native Sclavonian chiefs against him, and he fell the victim of a conspiracy plotted in 1066 by his own relative, Plusso. The Vendes now rose in a furious insurrection against priests and monks, who were ruthlessly slaughtered or driven out of the country. Prince Henry, the son of King Gottschalk entered Slavia with an army of *German crusaders*, and succeeded by mildness and prudence, to restore order and religion. He built the city of Lübeck on the Trave, and encouraged agriculture and commerce; but his death in 1121 brought on those intestine feuds among the Sclavonian chiefs, which in 1168–1173 terminated with the conquest of Vendland by the kings of Denmark.

The Vendes and the Prussians were the wildest of the Sclavonian nations. They lived in miserable huts; their dress was squalid; among the nobles polygamy was frequent, and they were the only people among the Sclavonians who treated their women with scorn and cruelty. They were equally savage in their wars, and defended their villages with rude inclosures and ditches. Their religion was a kind of Sabaism, mixed up with superstitions from the north. They adored the sun, but their principal deity was the horrible monster *Svantevit* (188), with four heads turned toward the four quarters of the world, like the Hindoo Brama. Their priesthood constituted a separate order, of great political influence, and they maintained a splendid worship in the great temple of Arcona. Their peculiar rage was directed against the Danish churches and monasteries, which they every where, during their piratical expeditions, devoted to the flames, ravaging the coasts, and carrying the wretched inhabitants away into slavery. The Vendes themselves excited that enthusiastic crusading spirit

among the Danes in the 12th century, which at once swept idolatry and barbarism from the shores of the Baltic. LUBECCA (Lübeck) was their capital, which afterwards became an Episcopal see, and a flourishing commercial city. ARCONA, on the beautiful island of Rügen, was the central sanctuary of Svantevit, with its priestly palaces, and immense treasures, which were carried in triumph to Denmark. The whole island remained afterward annexed to the Episcopal see of Roeskilde. *Wollin* (Julin), on the large island *Jom* (Wollinische Werder), at the mouth of the *Oder*, was another large city of the Vendes. On the south-eastern promontory of the island, the Danish Viking Palnatoke,[109] so celebrated in the traditions of the north, had established in 960 the singular REPUBLIC of JOMSBORG. Palnatoke built his robber's nest upon the severest model of ancient Spartan discipline; the virtues of valor and contempt of death were exalted above all other qualities—above the very laws of nature. The endearing ties of love, and the society of woman, were sternly forbidden. Corsairs from every part of the north hurried to Jomsborg to enlist among its indomitable Vikings. Thus the bravest warriors and the fleetest and best-armed galleys obeyed the command of the pitiless chieftain, and this bold creation of the 10th century continued to flourish, to strengthen itself, and remain the scourge of all the neighboring coasts until the close of the 12th century, when it was finally extirpated by King Waldemar I. and his Danish chivalry in the year 1170.[110]

[109] Palnatoke is one of the fiercest characters of the heathen Vikings standing on the verge of time when Christianity began to throw its light into the north. His history forms an exact counterpart of that of William Tell in Switzerland. According to Saxo Grammaticus, Palnatoke was ordered, by King Harald Bluetooth, to shoot an apple off his son's head. The daring archer succeeded under circumstances similar to those of Tell, and afterwards took revenge by shooting King Harald, A. D. 991, while crossing a dense forest in Sealand. Saxo wrote in 1204, and Tell appeared in Helvetia 1307—a century later; both events may be true. The Danish story is the subject of Œhlenschlæger's magnificent tragedy of Palnatoke.

[110] The spirit of the times had exerted their influence even on the

VI. Kingdom of Norway.

296. Vicissitudes and Constitution.—The most tumultuous period of Norway is that from the accession of King Magnus the Good, the son of St. Olaf, in 1035, to the death of Hakon Hakonson and the conquest of Iceland in 1263,—an epoch rich in extraordinary events, which are beautifully recorded in the Heimskringla of Snorro Sturleson, the Icelandic historian, and by his continuators. St. Olaf had in the battle of Sticklestad in 1030 sealed his faith with his blood (223). His son Magnus the Good succeeded in the final introduction of Christianity, and the Norse soon became as zealous worshippers of the true God as they formerly had been of the false. They likewise took an enthusiastic part in the crusades, both in Spain and Palestine, and their heroical king, Harald Haardraade, as prince or general of the Scandinavian Varanghians at Constantinople (226, 262), filled the sagas and songs of his time with his renown.[111]

Harald the Stern perished in the battle of Stamford-Bridge, against Harald Godwinson of England, in 1066. His son, Olaf Kyrre (the Pacific), attended to the cultivation and comfort of the wild mountaineers. He introduced chimneys and

Vikings of Jomsborg, which at the period of its final demolition had become a celebrated commercial mart, frequented by the different traders of the Baltic. Its spacious harbor was filled with the ships of every nation in Europe. Danes, Swedes, Saxons, Vendes and Russians had their separate quarters for residence and business. Yet the naval power of the masked pirates was still too dangerous to Denmark, and King Waldemar therefore determined to extirpate this nest of heathen freebooters. On the arrival of the formidable armament, the Jomsborgers became so terrified that they abandoned their capital in despair. Its ramparts and other fortifications were levelled, the greater part of its edifices were laid in ashes; and from this calamity it never recovered, but gradually sunk into the obscure and inconsiderable town of Wollin.

[111] See the Saga of King Harald Haardraade, by Laing, and the tragedy of Œhlenschlæger: *Væringerne i Myklegard.*

glass-windows; he established a commercial emporium at Bergen, and founded several *guilds* or fraternities of arts and trades, which ultimately ripened into municipal corporations. He also promulgated laws to facilitate the emancipation of the wretched *trælle* or serfs, and every *fylke* or district was obliged to set free annually a certain number of bondsmen.

Yet the irregular election of the Norwegian princes, supported by their parties, kindled the most destructive civil wars, which stained the soil with blood, and produced a general demoralization and ferocity of manners at the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, when we remark with satisfaction in other countries a more steady progress toward the higher civilization and humanity of our modern era. The history of the daring and intelligent King Sverre, the natural son of King Sigurd II. (1136–1155), who, at the head of the warrior faction of the *Birkebener*,[112] after the most astonishing alternations of victory and defeat, was raised to the throne (1186–1202), is in the highest degree exciting and romantic. Sverre, with all his cruelty and craft, is well worthy to figure with his illustrious contemporaries, Frederik Barbarossa and Waldemar the Great, and had he acted upon the larger theatres of France, Germany or England, he might have become one of the most renowned monarchs of the middle ages. The wild band who with their swords opened his path to the throne, consisted of the outcasts of the nation; but by their daring and valor, and the terrible vicissitudes of suffering and war, they became ennobled, and transformed into a body of chivalrous and high-minded warriors, well deserving of the love and veneration of the Norwegian nation; and having thus thrown off the ignominy of the robber, their heroical deeds were immortalized in the songs of the Skjalds.[113] Sverre

[112] These fierce warriors were called Birkebener from the *birch bark* which they, destitute and miserable as they were, swathed around their legs. Their opponents, the *Baglers*, got their nick-name from their heavy *clubs*, bagle, *baculum*.

[113] See the highly interesting *King Sverrer's Saga*, written by Karl

strenuously opposed the encroachments of the Romish Pontiff in his supreme power, even at the risk of a general excommunication: the prelates possessed extravagant privileges; they coined money, and rode surrounded by numerous bodies of men-at-arms. The royal council was composed of the chancellor and treasurer—both prelates, together with the constable, *staller*, the seneschal, *mundskiænk*, who were lay-nobles, and other grandees of the kingdom. The old national aristocracy of the *Jarls* and *Hærsers* gradually sank into oblivion, and gave place to the feudal titles of dukes, barons, and knights. The Norwegian kings and their *hirdmænd* in complete armor, "glittering like ice," attempted to imitate the chivalrous manners of southern Europe; the officials in their various ranks obtained fiefs with military tenure, but without any hereditary rights. The stout Norse yeomanry, the *Odels-Bönder* (223), maintained their entire independence long after it had been lost by their brethren in Denmark, and they, together with the clergy and chiefs, took part in all the political transactions of the national chiefs. Every man who possessed six mares and a bear-skin cloak was required to appear in arms at the military gatherings; the booty was equitably divided, and the king himself received only his portion, according to his skill and bravery.

297. Divisions and Remarkable Cities.—Norway had become divided into four larger provinces, each of which possessed its own laws and jurisdictions. I. Trondhjem, in the north with its *Frostathing*. II. Bergen, on the western coast, with its *Gulathing*. III. Viken, on the east, with its own *Vikenske-Lov:* and, IV. Agde, south, with its *Handsiva-Lov*. From these codes Magnus Lagabœter (Law-mender) compiled a general body of civil and criminal jurisprudence for the entire realm in 1274—the *Hirdskraa*. A *Law-Thing* was annually held at Bergen and the other chief cities of the

Jansen, abbot of Thingöre monastery in Iceland, who visited Norway in 1185, and collected his materials from communications of King Sverrer himself. 3d Vol. of Jacob Aal's translation of Snorro Sturleson. Christiania, 1839–40.

kingdom, at which the appointed number of jurors were summoned to attend. Trial by battle and other appeals "to the judgment of God," had already been abolished. The succession had become hereditary, and many useful regulations for the maritime defence were re-established. The proud Archbishop of Nidaros (223) ruled the church with ecclesiastic despotism. Scientific cultivation was still very circumscribed in Norway, even among the clergy. One of the few literary monuments of this period is the King's Mirror—*Kongespeilet*—written with excellent spirit, luminous reasoning, and a noble aim, by King Sverre himself, to combat the encroachments of the hierarchy. *Trondhjem*, *Bergen* and *Tönsberg* were the most thriving commercial cities of Norway, and the great emporiums of its export of salt fish for southern Europe. The active trade was entirely in the hands of the German confederative Republic of the Hanseatic towns, which enjoyed the most extensive privileges, exemption from customs and tolls, and kept the whole kingdom, during the fourteenth century, under the most tyrannical mercantile subjection, by their powerful fleets and fortified factories in Bergen and other cities on the coast. *Eidskog* and the *Sevo* mountains, on the frontiers of Sweden, *Gaularos* near Trondhjem, the King's Path, the valley of Sverre, and the environs of *Bergen* and *Tönsberg*, are celebrated scenes of the valor of King Sverre, and his hardy and faithful Birkebener.

298. Iceland, having been inhabited in 874, during the reign of Harald the Fairhaired (224), by Norse exiles, formed since 928 an independent republic. The whole island was divided into wards, each with three meeting places or tribunals, a heathen temple and its priests, *godar*. The turbulent warriors of Norway formed the aristocracy of the island, while the later emigrants, Danes, Swedes, and even many Scots and Irish, entered into subordinate relations as tenants or serfs to the rich *Odels Bönder*, here the yeomanry or gentry, who had divided the lands on the first discovery. The natural consequence of such a progressive colonization, under feudal tenure,

would be frequent contentions and feuds between the old Norwegian settlers and the new comers. To obviate the dangers of a civil war, a chief, *Lagman*, was named, under whose guidance the national diet, *Althing*, assembled every year on the Law-rock, *Lovfjeldet*. Thirteen other provincial tribunals, with presidents and jurymen, assembled in the different districts of the island. The introduction of Christianity into Norway was a work of the greatest difficulty, for there every valley, every rock was dedicated to its spirit or god, and idolatry was thus deeply rooted in the localities of the country and in the traditions of the people. Not so in Iceland; the emigrants had left Odin and Trigga behind them on the fells of Norway, and they did not recognize the voice of Thor in the thunders of Hecla. Irish and Scottish missionaries found, therefore, a fertile soil, and Christianity was unanimously received as the Althing in A. D. 1000, though the violent priest Thangbrand, whom Olaf Tryggveson had sent the year before, by his cruelty and arrogance had been forced to flee for his life, and return to Norway. This happy state of liberty, though occasionally interrupted by civil feuds, of which the life of the great Icelandic historian, Snorro Sturleson, gives us a highly remarkable instance, continued in Iceland for nearly four hundred years. During this period not only commerce, fishery and colonization in Greenland and Viinland (America), but general education, literature, and the refinements of poetical fancy flourished among the active and spirited Icelanders, and nearly all the most beautiful sagas, or tales, and epics of the middle ages, were penned and sung by the Icelanders, before their decline in the fourteenth century. After the murder of Snorro in 1242, the civil war flashed up fiercer than ever, when, in 1262, Hakon IV. with his Norwegian fleet forced the wrangling Icelanders to swear allegiance to the Norse kings; yet it was not until the island had been laid waste by a dreadful eruption of Mount Hecla, in the year 1300, that the rough republicans submitted to do homage to Hakon VII. of Norway, as their feudal sovereign. Their

ancient institutions, however, remained untouched; their celebrated Law-book, the graygoose—*graa-gaasen*—was still in use, but the muse of history fled southward to Spain and Italy, and seldom returned for a short visit among the volcanoes of Iceland.

299. DIVISION AND SETTLEMENTS.—Iceland was by nature herself divided into four wards or *fjordungar*, separated by snow-capped mountains and deep friths. I. AUSTFIRDINGA or *East-friths;* II. SUNNLENDINGA, or *Ranga* (Southland); III. NORDLENDINGA, or *Eyafjord* (Northland); and, IV. VESTFIRDINGA, or *Breidfjord*, the deeply indented and more thickly inhabited coast on the west. In the southern ward lay *Thingvellir*, where the general assembly—Althing—was held until the year 1800, when it was abolished by the king of Denmark.[114] *Holum*, in the north, and *Skalholt* in the south, were Episcopal sees. *Reikiavik*, *Bessestadir*, *Melastadir*, and *Stiklesholm*, were emporia and commercial towns on the western coast. *Hram*, in the westward, where the great historian Snorro Sturleson was born in 1178. *Reikjaholt*, the castle of Snorro, in a beautiful region at a short distance from Mount Hecla. Here he was assassinated by his dissatisfied relatives on the 22d Sept. 1241. In the neighborhood are still seen the hot baths of Snorro—*Snorralaug*—cut out in the living rock, an interesting monument of his taste and wealth, and of the skilful workmanship of those times.

300. During this period the kings of Norway possessed GREENLAND, the FÆRŒER, the ORKNEYS, the SHETLAND islands, the HEBRIDES, the island of MAN and ANGLESEA. Greenland, like the other tributary possessions, belonged to the Royal domains, and foreign traffic was prohibited; thus the navigation between Norway and the other northern nations decreased gradually, until it at last stopped entirely, in the year 1481, when the last Norsemen, who were acquainted with the navi-

[114] The Althing has been restored by King Frederick VII. in 1848, when Denmark became a constitutional kingdom.

gation to Greenland, were assassinated in Bergen by foreign merchants.[115] The Hebrides and the island of Man were, by King Magnus Lagabœter, ceded to Scotland in 1266, for the sum of four thousand marcs sterling. The Orkneys and Shetland islands were mortgaged to Scotland by King Christian I. for the dower of his daughter Margaret, who married King James III. Stuart, in 1468.

VII. Kingdom of Sweden.

301. Extent and Conquests in Finnland.—Sweden, still divided between the two races of *Goths* and *Sviars*, or Swedes, was the most insignificant of the Scandinavian nations, and exerted no influence on the politics of Europe. "The Swedes," says the celebrated Adam, Bishop of Bremen, "are a sober and modest people, addicted to no vice except that of having each *three wives;* the rich and great have even more, all the children being regarded as legitimate. They are distinguished above all the Northmen for their hospitality; and the Christian missionaries are received and cherished by them with affection. The bishops assist at the popular assemblies, or *Thing*. The Swedes are a numerous people, brave and warlike, abounding in cavalry and ships. At home they are all equal, but in military expeditions they yield obedience to their king and leaders."[116]

The succession of the Folkungar to the throne (1250–1389), marks a new period in Swedish history (225). King Waldemar I. Birgerson, was an energetic ruler, who did much to secure the prosperity of his country. He built and fortified Stockholm, the capital; he gave new privileges to the Swedish cities, and revised the *Lands Lag*, or the code containing the

[115] See the Ancient Geography of the Arctic Lands of America, from the writings of the Northmen, by Prof. Charles Chr. Rafn. Copenhagen, 1845.

[116] Adam Bremensis. De Situ Daniæ. cap. CCVIII–CCXX. and CCXXIX.

old statutes of the kingdom. No change had taken place in the internal division of the Swedish provinces. More interesting are the crusades of Saint Eric against the Finns and Quains. He carried Swedish colonies across the Bothnian Gulf, and flourishing settlements soon arose on the western and southern shores of Finnland in 1156–1293. *Tavaste-Hus*, on the lakes in the interior, was built by Jarl Birger, in 1249, and the eastern regions, *Kyrialand* (Karelia), were occupied. The Kyriales possessed all the countries on the north of the lakes Ladoga and Onega, from the Finnic Gulf to the White Sea. The Finns were a simple and rude people who seldom cultivated their fields, and subsisted by hunting, fishing, and rearing cattle. The heads of families exercised a despotic authority, and the women were treated as slaves. They had some mechanical arts; among others, that of working metals; and the most ancient mines in Scandinavia were discovered by the Finns. Their mythology was wild and fanciful. Finnland was believed to be the country of giants, gnome-like spirits, and supernatural beings that haunted the deserts, murmured in the waterfall, raged in the tempest, and allured the traveller and the hunter by a thousand fantastic forms. Magic was connected with the worship and manners of the people, and cunningly fostered by the deceitful priests and wizards. Music, too, was a powerful instrument in the old superstition. The divine minstrel, seized by the power of his magic, fell into ecstasies, and his audience partook of his raptures. The Finnic language is the most sonorous, and best adapted for poetry, of any in Europe. It has affinity with the Hungarian. The three leading tribes were the *Quains*, in the north, bordering on Lapland; the *Ymes* (Jemes), in the lake district of Finnland proper; and the *Kyriales*, in the east. The old Finnlanders offered an obstinate resistance to the crusading Swedes, and the war lasted from 1156 to 1293. The inhabitants in after times still retained the grave, intrepid, and independent character of their forefathers. They were capable of enduring the severest privations; but their perseverance was

little removed from obstinacy, and their attachment to their national name, customs, and language, rendered them incapable of appreciating the blessings of civilization, which the Swedes were anxious to diffuse among them. The principal Swedish colonies on the coast of Finnland were *Korsholm*, *Björneborg*, *Nystad*, *Aabo*, the Episcopal see, *Wiborg* and *Kexholm* on the Lake Ladoga.

The Swedish nobility had obtained an all-powerful influence; the Seneshal and the Drost divided the place of the Jarl of the Realm (225). Chivalrous institutions were introduced into Sweden: service on horseback and military tenures with exemption from taxes. Every province, Ostgothland, Westgothland, Södermannaland, Westmannaland, Helsingaland, and Dalarne, had their particular laws and customs. King Birger attempted, in 1295, to introduce the Uplandic Law into all the States of the realm. Slavery continued until the 14th century. The centre of Swedish commerce was the flourishing city of *Wisby*, on the western coast of the island of Gothland; it was a German colony, and formed at a later time a part of the great Hanseatic Confederacy of Maritime Republics.[117]

VIII. Grand Duchy of Russia.

302. Extent and Divisions in the Eleventh Century. —The dominions of Russia (226) were by the victories of the Grand-Duke Wladimir the Great (98–1015), extended westward along the shores of the Baltic into *Lithuania* and *Poland*; southward along the shores of the Euxine, so as to include part of the Crimea and of the Bulgarian territories, whilst on the east they reached to the Oka, the Don, and the Volga. Wladimir resided in Kiew; he encouraged the building of new cities, and peopled the waste districts of his immense empire with prisoners whom he had taken in the wars. He not only conducted himself as a sovereign who consulted

[117] See, for important details, Geijer's History of the Swedes, in the English translation. Vol. I.

the welfare of his dominions, but displayed many benevolent and amiable qualities, that highly endeared him to his subjects. Yet the establishment of the Greek Church throughout the Russian dominions forms the most prominent feature in his reign, and gives that truly worthy monarch a juster claim to the title of *Great* than his numerous victories. The improvement which Russia owed to this prince was great and permanent. With the Christian religion he introduced the arts and language of Constantinople, which began to flourish in the Russian monasteries. But the ill-judged division of his empire among his sons in 1015 caused a series of the most bloody civil wars between his successors. Yaroslaf at last obtained possession of his father's dominions, but followed most indiscreetly his example by a new division of his territories among his sons in 1054, which remained standing for centuries. Russia embraced then the following six territories:

I. The Grand Duchy of Kijow (Kiew), with the sovereign title, and the beautiful and populous capital of that name on the Dnieper (226). The province extended northward, and comprised the Duchy or Republic of *Novgorod* and the principalities of *Pskov* and *Wiätka*, and in the south all the territory from the eastern Carpathians to the waterfalls of the *Dnieper*, where it touched the frontier of the wild *Polovtzi* or *Kumani*.

II. The Principality of Tchernigov contained the eastern part of Russia from the Dnieper to the Don and the Oka, the latter of which separated it from the roving Finnic tribes of the *Mordwins* and *Muromens* (226.) The southern principality of *Tmutarakan*, which the Grand-Duke Swärtoslav in 972 had united to the empire, belonged likewise to this principality, but it was lost in 1050, on the advance of the Kumanic hordes towards the Euxine.

III. The Principality of Perejaslavl extended southward from the frontiers of Tchernigov, along the Dnieper and the Donjetz to the steppes of the *Petcheneges* (254.) On the east it touched the civilized and pacific *Kamic Bulgarians*,

on the Volga, and the Kliasma, where the concentrated power of Russia later arose on the downfall of Kiew.

IV. The PRINCIPALITY OF SMOLENSK, on the northwest, between Pskov and Tchernigov, was continually exposed to the invasions of the Poles.

V. The PRINCIPALITY OF POLOTZK, was situated between the Düna, Niemen and Dnieper. Its princes obtained the sovereignty over the *Lethic* and *Finnic* tribes on the shores of the Baltic, but in spite of all their exertions they were repelled by the Prussians (227.) That nation, the fiercest of all the Sclavonian tribes of the north, maintained their independence until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they yielded to the sword of the Teutonic knights and German civilization, in the building of Riga, and other cities on the coast.

VI. The southern PRINCIPALITY OF WLODOMIRZ, in the present Volhynia, extended south toward the upper Vistula and the Principality of *Halitch* (Gallicia).

303. During the twelfth century, several princes of the Russian dynasty formed a powerful state in the southwestern parts of the Grand Duchy of Kiew, which, A. D. 1158, became almost entirely independent; it was *Halitch* or *Gallicia*, in *Malo-Russia*, on the northern slope of the Carpathian range, the home of Russinians or Ruthenians (Russniaks), whose prince Roman vanquished the southern Kumani, and rendered them tributary. There were in Russia during this period not fewer than seventeen smaller principalities, though they at length became absorbed into seven, viz.: those of *Kiew*, *Novgorod*, *Smolensk*, *Wladimir*, *Tver*, *Halitch*, and *Moskou*. Novgorod and Kiew maintained a certain superiority over the others until toward the beginning of the thirteenth century, immediately before the Mongol invasion, the northeastern principality of *Susdal* or *Wladimir* took the lead with the two last mentioned states.[118]

[118] In the supremacy of these principalities can be traced the division of Russia into *Great Russia* (the duchy of Novgorod), *Little Rus-*

304. NOVGOROD, on the banks of the Ilmen-Lake, was the glory of Russia during the middle ages, with its strong walls, its 250 churches and convents glittering with gilt cupolas, and its 300,000 active citizens, who soon threw off the yoke of the wrangling Russian princes, and constituted themselves into the celebrated republic. Later (after 1240), it entered the confederacy of the Hanseatic cities, and became the great emporium of Indian commerce for the north of Europe. At the head of its executive government stood the Maire, *posadnik*, with extensive power, but changing every year. He had a lieutenant, *tysaskoi*, and a council of senators, *boyars*, consisting of the wealthy patricians. The merchants, storekeepers, mechanics, and common people formed the popular assembly, that gathered in the large market-place at the deep sound of the clock, the *witschneï-kolokol*. All the citizens were splendidly armed, and marshalled under the city banners, according to the five quarters of the town, and the five districts of the territory. The grand duke possessed a palace in the city, but his bailiff or count was obliged to show the citizens the most flattering politeness, and he had no real power. The city had its own laws and courts of justice; the manners were still barbarous—revenge for bloodshed, ordeal by fire, awful servitude, and burning of witches. Russia had yet no coined money; commerce was conducted by barter, and skins of squirrels and foxes were used instead of silver and copper money. Thousands of boats were plying on the lake Ilmen, and shipping the rich products of the east on the *Wolkof* River to the Ladoga, where the vessels from the Baltic embarked their cargoes. The produce of the north, on the contrary, was conducted by armed citizens over the low hills to the river beds of the Don, Dneister or Volga, and thence through the whole continent to the Caspian Sea, the Euxine, and Constantinople. During winter thousands of adorned sleighs and sledges were seen sliding rapidly over the hard and level surface of boundless snows and

sia (South Russia), as far as the Crimea, *White Russia* (Wladimir), on the east, and *Red Russia* (Halitch), on the southwest.

frozen lakes. Novgorod with its free democratic institutions, its active and warlike population, its commercial wealth—then the centre of the world's traffic—was the New-York or New Orleans of the middle ages, and made good the proverb: "*Who can resist God and the great Novgorod?*" Such was the state of this remarkable city from the 11th to the close of the 15th century. Novgorod was the terminus of the pilgrims as well as Jerusalem; it was the rendezvous of the fashionable traveller and the covetous trader. Artists and jugglers, Danes and Dutch, Portuguese Jews and Chinese mandarins, Tartars and Moors, were thronging its glittering bazaars, each of which belonged to a separate nation—with its national tribunals, its churches or mosques, its store-houses and armed guardians. Here all the enjoyments of the east and west concentrated—nay, the ideas of the luxury and hospitality of the Novgorodian citizens, the splendor of the Russian princes and boyars, and the wealth to be earned there, were quite extravagant. Art and science, literature and poetry, always follow in the wake of liberty and commerce; we may, therefore, readily believe the Russian historians, in their descriptions of the magnificent buildings of Novgorod and Kiew, built in the Byzantine and Gothic style by Greek and German architects, and of the church paintings and decorations in Mosaic by Saint Olympius, a highly talented monk, a native Russian, whose brilliant creations are still admired at the present day. Learning, too, had been introduced from Constantinople, and found an encouraging asylum in the numerous monasteries, where Russian friars were engaged in copying and adorning those elegant manuscripts of the Scriptures and the fathers which remain a testimony of their skill and industry. Russian ecclesiastics, in the seclusion of the convent or hermitage, devoted themselves to astronomy and chemistry; others, returning from their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, imparted their knowledge of the East, and the venerable Nestor, from the depth of his cavern at Kiew, collected the early traditions of the nation, for his annals of the Russian empire; while many other monks wrote the lives of the saints,

and the chronicles of their convents, in the native Russian dialect.[119] *Moskow*, on the Moskwa, a tributary of the Oka, was a small summer residence of the princes of Susdal, when Yury (George) Dolgoruki of Susdal, in 1147, laid the foundations of a large city, which soon became the capital of the grand duchy of Wladimir, and the centre from which the Russian czars afterwards extended their conquests.

During the intestine broils which attended the dismemberment of the Russian monarchy, the neighboring nations, Polovtzi, Hungarians and Poles, availed themselves of the weakness of those small principalities, and the party spirit of their chiefs, to take side with the one against the other, or to ravage the country, to burn down the cities, and carry off thousands of captives into slavery. At last, in 1223, when the three sovereigns of Wladimir, Kiew, and Halitch had formed a confederacy and driven back the Poles and Magyars; when Novgorod was extending her commerce, and consolidating

[119] The Russians, like all the Sclavonian tribes, delighted in social assemblies, in music, dancing and national songs. Some few of their ancient ballads have survived the storms of time, and give us a favorable opinion of the poetical genius of Boïan, and other early bards; but the greater part have perished in the general destruction of cities and convents during the Mongolian invasion. Only a single larger poem, of exquisite beauty, on the deeds and the death of *Igor the Brave*, has been preserved as an interesting monument of the ancient Russian language. In glowing verses it describes the military expeditions of Igor, the prince of the Seversky, against the Polovtzi barbarians; he attacks their camp on the banks of the Don, but after a brilliant action, the Russians are surrounded by thousands of enemies. "The steppe of Stribog is all stained with gore, and strown over with the dying and the dead; Polovtzi and Russians engage in fierce embrace. On the third aurora our banners sink into the dust before the shouting myriads of savage foes; for there is not a drop of blood left to be shed. Bold Igor and his generous Russians have perished on the battle-field; they have yielded their last breath for the salvation of their native country. O holy Russia, remember thy sons!"—See interesting details on the manners and institutions of the ancient Russians in N. M. Karamsin's *History of the Russian Empire*. French translation. Vols. I. and II., in many places.

her republican institutions, the innumerable swarms of *Mongol* and *Tartar* horsemen from the upper table lands of central Asia, under Ginghis-Chan marched westward, and pouring in through the defile of Dervend on the Caspian (96), inundated all the lands of the Kuban, and drove the Polovtzi or Kumani in the wildest flight against the Russian frontiers. All the princes now armed; but the terrible battle on the banks of the *Kalka*, on the 31st of May, 1224, decided the fate of the Russian nation. Batu-Chan defeated them totally; myriads perished in the river; Kiew, Moskow and other cities were laid in ashes, and the greater part of Russia for more than two centuries and a half—1224–1487—remained subjected to the degrading yoke of the great Chans of the Mongolian empire.

305. The Chudish, Lettic and Lithuanian tribes, on the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic, were still wild heathens and barbarians. The *Eisths* and the *Lives* were Chudish or Finnic tribes; they inhabited the present Esthland and Livonia (Livland) on the Finnic or Rigaic Gulf, and extended eastward to the lake of Peïpus and the Düna. West and south of these lived the *Lotwani*, *Letti*, *Kouri* or *Korsi* (Kourshani), in the present Kourland; the *Semgalli*, *Samogitians*, *Syamaiti*, *Lithuanians* and *Prussians*, all kindred to the Sclavonian nation. These tribes resembled one another in their institutions, dialects, arms and manners. They had the same sanctuaries, where they met to offer sacrifices to their gods; at *Romove* in Natanga (near Königsberg), was the seat of their pontiff and chief judge—the *Kriwe*;—different classes of priests were subordinate to him. Many and horrible were their idols; they had human sacrifices, and consecrated woods, lakes and springs. They lived entirely independent, occupied with cattle-breeding, hunting and fishing: their agriculture was insignificant; they fed on meat, and drank mares' milk and mead; their weapons were clubs and maces, which they launched with deadly aim at a great distance; they were abhorred by the Germans, and ruthlessly

put down with the sword, or kept in the most cruel bondage. Merchants from Bremen, who were driven on their inhospitable coast in 1158, founded the first commercial emporium at Riga, and attempted to introduce Christianity among the Lives; but the Pagans burnt the wooden chapels, slaughtered or expelled the priests, and it was only the sword of the Danish crusaders in Esthland, and that of the knights of Christ, or *Sword-brothers*, in Livonia, who at last succeeded, after many battles, in building castles and converting the natives. The Lithuanians, extending from the Memel to the Düna, were too powerful a nation, and too strongly situated in the interior, to yield to the missionary attempts of the German knights. Their native chiefs recognised the supremacy of the Russian grand-dukes, but, taking advantage of the partitions and internal feuds among the princes of that nation, they soon threw off their allegiance, and conquered, in several campaigns, from 1082–1221, the principality of Polotzk, east of the Düna, New-Grodek and all Severia, as far south as the swampy region of the Prypec and the Dnieper. This vast territory was divided among many chieftains; in 1235, however, the brave Ringold united all the small Lithuanian states, and took the title of grand prince, *veliki-knaz*. He maintained himself with brilliant success against Russians and Mongols, defeated the German knights Sword-bearers (the successors of the Sword-brothers) in Livonia, and though still a heathen, made himself respected by all the Christian nations on his frontiers.

II. Central Europe between 973 and 1096.

IX. Kingdom of France.

306. Condition of France; Domains, Feudal Sovereignties and Free Communes.—France had, during the eleventh century, preserved nearly the same limits which it had at the time of the extinction of the Carlovingian Dynasty (229). The Royal domains, however, had been enlarged by the accession of the most powerful feudatory, Hugh Capet, Duke of France

(987–996), and by the slow, though prudent and persevering efforts of his successors[120] in the extension of their household power, their domains, and the enlargement of their royal prerogative. Several feudal territories had been united with the crown: 1. the county of *Sens* (235. XI.); 2. the county of *Vexin* (235. XV.); and 3. the viscounty of *Bourges* (238 XXVI). King Robert I. gave in 1031 the duchy of *Burgundy* (239. XXVIII.) to his youngest son Robert, who became the ancestor to the elder dynasty of Burgundy and to the kings of Portugal. These acquisitions before the crusades were insignificant, while, on the other hand, the number of the independent feudal seignories was increased by the erection of several baronies into *hereditary sovereignties*. These were, 1. The barony of Coucy, in Champagne;[121] 2. The barony of Montfort L'Amaury, in the duchy of Isle de France, southwest of Paris; 3. The county of Eu; 4. The county of Évreux, both in Normandy; and 5. The county of Foix (243), in Gascogne. This important duchy, which had been united to *Guyenne* and the county of *Rovergue* (243. LI.), was possessed by the still more independent Count of *Toulouse*. In general, the countries lying between the *Loire* and the *Pyrenees*, although they recognized nominally the sovereignty of the French monarch, were in strictness as alien from him as the kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles, or the duchy of Lorraine, which held of the German Emperor (246, 248). Thus, then, the real sovereign power of the Capetian kings extended *only* over *the Isle of France* and a part of *Orléanais*, and yet, small as this district was—in breadth ninety miles from east to west, and in

[120] These Capetian monarchs were: Robert I., 996–1031. Henry I., 1060. Philip I., 1108. Louis-le-Gros (VI.), 1136. Louis-le-Jeune (VII.) 1180. Under Philip August (1180–1223) the French nation at last stands forth in its full development, consolidated into a mighty monarchy.

[121] The gigantic towers of the Château of Coucy present still some of the finest mediæval ruins in modern France. They had the proud inscription,

> "Nor king, nor duke, nor prince, nor count am I,
> I am the lord of Coucy."

length one hundred and twenty miles from north to south—it was far from being wholly subject to the crown, for even so late as the twelfth century Louis-le-Gros was arduously engaged during the greater part of his reign in reducing to obedience the petty counts of *Chaumont*, and of *Clermont*, the lords of *Montlhéry*, *Montfort l'Amaury*, *Coucy*, *Montmorency*, *Puiset*, and numerous other barons, who, within the precincts of the duchy of France and the royal demesnes—nay, in the very environs of Paris, the capital and residence of the king, refused all obedience to him![122] In the very heart of his domains the Capetian was supported only by the Church and by the rising and aspiring *bourgeoisie*—the cities;—all the rest, both strength and glory, belonged to the proud and wrangling feudatories.

307. Enfranchisement of the Communes or Republican Cities in France. The oppression of the nobility had become insupportable to the poor down-trodden people; insurrection among the peasantry broke out in different places; yet a few mail-clad knights, with their lances in rest, scoured the county, rode down and dispersed the disorderly bands of the *villains*, cut off their hands and feet, and the matter was forgotten. The peasantry had too little communication or union in the different provinces, so that all their *jacqueries* or turbulent risings failed during the middle ages; they were too degraded by slavery, and if they had been successful, they would have used their victory with brutish wildness and ferocity. It was in the populous burghs and towns which had risen round the castles, and particularly round the churches, and in the an-

[122] The king of France could not ride from Paris to his city of Orléans, being interrupted by the frowning towers of Montlhéry. When, therefore, the fierce lord of the castle, who had been defeated and humbled in the crusade, consented to give his daughter in marriage to the king's son, with his castle as her dowry, Philip said to his son, Louis-le-Gros: "Now, my son, keep heedful watch over this tower, the trouble caused me by which, has made my hairs gray with grief, and through whose craft and wickedness I have never known peace and quiet." What a picture of the times!

cient *Roman* municipal cities, that the ideas of liberty long glimmering at last burst forth in the brightest flames (245, 250, 270). Population had been encouraged in the burghs by grants of land from their lay or ecclesiastical lords, who were anxious to increase their strength and the number of their vassals. The nobles would encourage the industry of the townspeople; they would allure skilful artisans, weavers, butchers, smiths, armorers, and concede them some privileges to keep them within their territory. Liberty, thus, had its beginning in the central towns of France—*the free communes*—which began by receiving some concessions, and terminated by extorting their franchises and immunities sword in hand. The greater part of these towns were under the jurisdiction of bishops or abbots, who wielded the sword of justice by their viscounts. Such were the episcopal cities of *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, *Laon*, and *St. Riquier*; in others the counts and the prelates divided the authority, and in their reciprocal rivalry sought to gain the assistance of the citizens against their antagonists by liberal concessions, as was the case in *Soissons* and *Amiens*; while in *St. Quentin* and *Abbeville* the counts alone exercised an absolute power. *Le Mans* is the earliest of the free communes (1070).[128] *Cambrai* followed the example in 1076. Louis-le-Gros called the citizens to arms in his feud against the dukes of Normandy; they flocked to his feudal army under the ban-

[128] It has been wrongly said that the crusades were the primitive cause of the enfranchisement of the cities, for we distinctly see that *Le Mans*, *Cambrai*, and others, obtained their charters long before the commencement of that movement, though the readiness of the Crusaders to sell their estates and rights afterwards, served powerfully to promote the release of the cities. Nor was King Louis-le-Gros the founder of them, but rather the reverse; for it was the brave citizens of the towns who established the king; without them he would not have beaten off the Normans, and these conquerors of England would probably have conquered France too. See, for highly entertaining details on the history of the communes of France, the admirable narratives of Augustin Thierry, in his *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*. Lettres XIII–XXV.; compare Guizot, Michelet, Sismondi, and Henry Leo.

ners of their respective parishes in 1119, and their demands rose with their military success. Church and nobility then vied with one another to sell the franchises to the citizens, who with hard labor found means to purchase them; to form their consular governments, to fortify their towns, and at once to display the activity and development of a high-minded democracy. This revolution took place all over the kingdom under *a thousand different forms*, and with more or less disturbance; terrible was the struggle of the cities in Flanders and Belgium, where *Bruges*, with its thirty thousand armed citizens defeated counts and kings on the battle-field, and laid the solid foundations of the republican and commercial grandeur of the Low Countries in the following centuries.

308. In the mean time, the rumor spread throughout France and Europe that thousands of Christian pilgrims, princes, bishops, and abbesses, had been surrounded and ruthlessly slaughtered at *Ramla*, on the coast of Palestine, by the Turkish hordes, and that their sultan, Ortok, had taken possession of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre. Peter the Hermit then appeared in France; his eloquence contributed powerfully to heighten the general enthusiasm for the sacred war, and the masses began to move. At the Council in Clermont, in November 1095, Pope Urban II. preached the crusade, and the following spring large bodies of pilgrims, men and women, young and old, led on by Peter the Hermit and Gaultier—*Sans-Avoir*—Walter the Penniless—crossed the Rhine on their march for Constantinople and Syria. In August of the same year the unwieldy armies of princes, barons, and knights, put themselves slowly in motion. No king, however, took part in the first crusade, but many feudatories more powerful than the kings. Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, departed at the head of ten thousand knights and seventy thousand foot, Lorrainers, Germans, and French, taking his route through Germany and Hungary. Another large crusading army was commanded by Hugh of Verman-

dois, the brother of King Philip of France, the wealthy Count Stephen of Blois, Robert Curt-Hose, duke of Normandy, and Count Robert of Flanders—all equals, none chief; they quarrelled on the road, and did but little honor to the crusade. A third army was formed by the enthusiastic French of the South, the Aquitanians, Gascons, Auvergnacs, and Provençals, under the banner of the old Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who traversed the Albanian Mountains under endless hardships and dangers, and met the other crusading companions at Constantinople in the spring of 1097. The Normans of Italy, with Count Bohemond of Tarant, and the handsome and noble-minded Tancred at their head, forced their way, sword in hand, through Epirus and Macedonia. Such was the march of the first crusading armies.

X. The Romano-Germanic Empire.

309. Extent, Change in the Constitution, Contest with Rome about the Investitures. Great changes had taken place in Germany since the times of Otho the Great, in 973. Conrad II. obtained possession of the kingdom of Burgundy (244), which at that time comprised the beautiful districts of the southeast of France, afterwards called *Provence*, *Dauphiny*, *Franche Comté* and *Lyons*, together with *Savoy*, and a portion of Switzerland. Germany was thus placed in connection with the Mediterranean by means of the important seaports of *Toulon* and *Marseilles;* an acquisition of great import, which, however, afterwards, in the times of intestine disturbances, became neglected, and fell into the power of the watchful and grasping kings of France. Nor did Germany take better care of her other frontier provinces. The margraviate of *Schleswig* was ceded to Denmark, and thus the Eider became again, in 1027, the frontier of the two nations (294). The Vendes in Slavia (295), on the shores of the Baltic, threw off their allegiance to the German Empire, and formed an independent state; so did King Boleslav Chrobry, of Po-

land, who, after the rapid conquest of all Silesia and Bohemia, at last made peace with the emperor Henry II. at Bautzen, in 1018, in which he retained possession of *Moravia* and *Lusatia*, and even obliged the emperor to support him with German auxiliary troops in his wars against the Russians. The Germans fared worse in Italy, because Robert Guiscard and his Norman adventurers conquered all lower Italy and Sicily, while northern Italy became more and more republican, and the papal see attained the height of its power on the accession of Pope Gregory VII.

Conrad II. gave, in 1037, his celebrated *constitution of the fiefs*, according to which the lower vassals, who followed the banner of the empire, obtained the full right of property and the hereditary succession of their estates. They thus became the faithful supporters of the emperor against the dukes, whom Conrad sought to bring back to their old condition of mere imperial functionaries. He assigned to his son Henry the duchies of *Souabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Franconia*, and, if intelligent successors had been able to carry through his deep-laid plans, Germany would have become what France ultimately became, an undivided, powerful empire. But the Salic dynasty was stayed in its mid-career, partly by the faults of Henry IV., and partly by the rapid rising of the papal chair, whose authority developed itself with astonishing energy under the great Pope Gregory VII. The violent contest between these two stubborn characters shook the world, strewed Germany and Italy with corpses and ruins, and was at last only terminated with the concordate of Worms, in 1122, between Henry V. and Pope Calixtus II.; according to which the emperor consented to the free election of bishops and abbots, renouncing the investiture of the mitre and the cross, or the ecclesiastical investiture. This was reserved to the pope, who, on his side, gave up to the emperor the investiture by the sceptre of the ecclesiastical domains that were subject to feudal tenure. The political unity of Christendom was thus broken for ever.

310. Cities, Castles, and Historical Places. *Ham-*

burg, on the Elbe, was taken and burnt by the Vendes in 1069, and the archbishop forced to remove his see to Bremen.—*Grone*, a fine castle near Göttingen, in Saxony, where Henry II. died, in 1024.—*Bothfeld*, near Blakenburg, in the Hartz. Here died (1056) the active and severe Henry III. in the flower of his age, amidst the lofty plans he had formed for the future organization of Germany.—*Kaiserswerth*, on the Rhine, where his little son, Henry IV., being carried off on board a ship by the intriguing Archbishop Hanno, of Cologne, threw himself into the river, and was saved with difficulty.—*Goslar*, in Saxony, the residence of Henry IV., whence he commenced building castles in the mountains of the Hartz and Thuringia to curb the freeborn spirit of the Saxons.—*Hartzburg*, the splendid castle of Henry IV., near Goslar, which the Saxons stormed and demolished at the beginning of their rebellion, in 1073. Henry fled in disguise to the forests, and narrowly escaped the pursuit of the enraged nation.—*Hohenberg*, on the river Unstrut, in Thuringia, the battle-field on which the Saxons were defeated by Henry IV., and treated with heartless cruelty.—*Hohenstaufen*, a conical mountain near *Buren*, on the Rems, in Souabia, on the pinnacle of which Frederick of Buren built the splendid castle from which the mighty dynasty of the Hohenstaufen had their origin in the twelfth century.—*Gera*, on the Elster, in Thuringia. In the neighborhood occurred the great battle, in which Rudolphus, of Souabia, the rival emperor, perished by the hand of young Godfrey of Bouillon; and the unhappy Henry IV. was reinstated on the throne of Germany in 1080.—*Welfesholz*, a forest near Hofstedt, in Saxony, where Henry V. suffered a fearful defeat from the Saxons, in 1115. In a chapel, erected on the battle-field, the victors placed a statue in full armor, with helmet, shield, and mace, whom the peasantry in after times called Saint Jodut.

311. In Italia, the flourishing cities of *Lombardy* and *Romagna* were republics in reality, though they still made a

show of their allegiance to the German emperors on their descent into Italy, to take the imperial crown in Rome. They defeated Henry II. in Pavia; they drove Henry III. out of Rome; but they took the part of Henry IV. against Pope Gregory VII. The pope was, however, powerfully supported by the Countess Mathildis, of Tuscany (250). This remarkable woman had inherited the immense possessions of her father, Margrave Bonifacius, in 1052; she governed her states with the spirit of a politician; she appeared in full armor at the head of her vassals, and devoted her whole active life to aid in elevating the power of the Church. Slander falsely reported her to be in love with Gregory, who took refuge in her castle of Canossa; but her life was as virtuous as her principles were austere. On her death, in 1115, she bequeathed all her states to the Church, though many of them were ancient fiefs of the empire. Another great controversy therefore arose between the pope and emperor, until, after much fighting, the feud at last terminated in a division of her lands, of which the Church knew how to secure the better half to herself. From this time until the appearance of Barbarossa in Italy, in 1152, the Italian cities enjoyed the most perfect liberty; they became wealthy and powerful. Their citizens formed battalions under the banners of the different wards of the town, with their consuls and *gonfaloniere* at their head. RAVENNA, VERONA, PADOUA, PARMA, obtained important privileges. MILAN, in spite of her archbishop, adopted a republican government, and waged continual wars with her rivals and neighbors, LODI, COMO and PAVIA.—*Canossa*, a strong castle, belonging to Countess Mathildis, on the Apennine, near Reggio. Here the excommunicated Henry IV. was invited by the countess to meet with the terrible pope. The German king was treated with the most inhuman cruelty, being left in the outer court of the castle, barefoot, in a hair garment, exposed to cold, hunger, and thirst, for three days during January, 1077. Half dead with humiliation and misery, the guilty monarch was at last admitted into the presence of the proud pontiff, who, however, lost

the best fruits of his victory by thus outstepping all bounds of moderation and christian charity.

PATRIMONIUM SANTI PETRI, or the then almost independent STATE OF THE CHURCH, extended, as indicated on the map by the *violet color*, throughout the greater part of central Italy, while the feudal homage rendered to the pope by the Norman Robert Guiscard, Duke of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, secured the Church from the south. It embraced the duchy of *Spoleto*, the Mark of *Ancona* and *Romandiola* (Romagna). ROME herself had suffered the most terrible devastation in 1085. The pope, being besieged by Henry IV. in the castle of St. Angelo, called the Normans to his aid. Robert Guiscard came with his invincible knights; the Germans fled; Gregory VII. was delivered; but the entire southern part of Rome, lying between the *Lateran* and the *Coliseum*, was destroyed with fire and sword by the Normans, and it has remained a desert to the present day.

XI. KINGDOM OF POLAND.

312. EXTENT, PROVINCES, AND CITIES. Poland, under its warlike king, Boleslav the Great, embraced, in A. D. 1025, the following provinces: I. *Polonia Propria*, bordering east, on the Bug; south, on the Carpathian Mountains; west, on the Oder; and north, on the Netze, which separated the kingdom from Pomerania. It was subdivided into 1, *Mazovia*, east of the Vistula; 2, *Cujavia;* 3, *Culma;* 4, *Cazubia;* 5, *Kustryn;* 6, *Barnim;* 7, *Lubus;* 8, Duchy of *Silesia;* 9, *Slask;* 10, *Cracow;* 11, *Sandomirz;* 12, *Sieradz*, 13, *Lenczyc;* and the conquered frontier provinces, which a few years later were lost, *Pomerania*, *Lusatia* (Lausitz), *Milzieni*, *Moravia*, *Chrobatia*, or North Hungary, as far as the Danube, the principality of *Halitch* and *Czerviensk* eastward as far as the Bug.—CRACOW (Krakou), in a splendid and strong position on the upper Vistula, was the capital. There the ancient kings were crowned and interred. The

cathedral is remarkable for its numerous mausoleums. The tomb of Saint Stanislaus is erected in the middle of the church, where lamps burn by day and night, and masses are continually said over his ashes. The adjacent country is remarkable for its picturesque beauty—*Vislica; Sandomirz.* The duchy of Silesia was one of the finest provinces of the Polish empire, and remained united with it until 1327, when it was ceded to John of Bohemia.—BRESLAU, on the Oder, the ancient capital, was burnt by the Mongols in 1241. *Leignitz*, where they defeated Duke Henry of Silesia, and the Polish and German chivalry, yet with so great a loss, that they immediately retreated to Hungary. *Warsaw*, on the Vistula, was still a small town.—*Posen*—*Gnesen*, the see of the archbishop—*Kalish.*

313. King Boleslav the Great, *Chrobry* (250), accomplished the difficult task of uniting into one monarchy the different hostile tribes of the *Ljächs. Mazovians*, *Krakovians*, *Silesians*, and *Moravians*, esteemed and loved him as highly as the Poles themselves; he was as generous as he was humane, brave, and just.[194] He organized the brilliant cavalry of his feudal army—*pospolité ruscenié;* he regulated the taxes—*poradine*—and divided his mighty realm into districts—*poviaty ziemié*—in which populous boroughs—*posada*—arose, and agriculture, trade and industry, became flourishing. Castles—*grod*—were built along the frontiers, which were guarded by the armed peasantry, under the command of the border counts. High-roads traversed Poland in all directions. Caravans from the east crossed peaceably the country on their route for the great markets—*messen*—of Germany. The chase was the great delight of the Poles; they hunted the elk, buffalo

[194] Boleslav had the curious custom of inviting the noble criminal to dinner. The culprit received, however, first, the private admonition of the king; he was then led into an apartment, where he received a terrible flogging; from which the penitent was carried into the bath, dressed for the court, and admitted to the royal table—all performed in good style—and no doubt, the noble sinner sat down there with the best appetite, after such preparative corporeal exercise.

urus, bear, and wild boar, on horseback, with lance and bow; from the German knights, they adopted the more fashionable falconry. Convents and schools were built; and, after a reign of extraordinary activity, the great ruler died, crowned with glory, in 1025. His successors, Boleslav II. and III., extended their conquests to the island of Rügen, on the Baltic,—beyond the Vistula, against the Russians; south into Hungary; but the division of Poland, in 1139, among the sons of Boleslav III., caused, in the course of time, a rapid succession of civil feuds, the formation of a powerful aristocracy, and the oppression of the mass of the people to the degrading state of hopeless serfdom.

XII. Kingdom of Hungary.

314. Conquests, Constitution, and Divisions. The kingdom of the Hungarians, or Magyar-Orszag, as they themselves called it, had been definitively constituted toward the year 1000 (253). The Magyar kings of the Arpadian dynasty, at the head of their warlike nation, made extensive conquests; their territory embraced not only all *Transylvania* (Hungaria Nigra), *Marmarosh*, on the north, along the southern base of the Carpathian Mountains, and the principalities of *Wallachia* and *Halitch* beyond them, but they passed the Danube, captured *Sirmium* and *Singedunum*, or *Alba Bulgariæ* (Belgrade)—on the junction of the Saave and the Danube, the ancient bulwark of the Roman Empire (34), in 1079, subdued the Croatian Zupanate in 1088, and did not stop until they had crossed swords with the Venetians on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic. Here their light cavalry was beaten back, and all the islands and several cities on the mainland, *Zara*, *Trau*, *Spalatro*, *Narenta*, and others, remained in the possession of Saint Marc. The Hungarian king nevertheless took the title of King of Croatia and Dalmatia, under the sovereignty of the papal see of Rome. The Catholic clergy exercised a great influence, and nearly all the political forms of the Frankish

constitution were introduced. The king formed his council of the prelates and nobles; even deputies from the nation were admitted. At the head of the jurisdiction stood the *comes palatinus*—*Nador-Ispan*—of Hungary. The employments at court and in the administration were the same as in Germany. Every one of the seventy-two comitatus—*Gespannschaften*—into which Hungary had been divided, was governed by a *comes parochianus*, who held the judicial and military command of the district, and was chosen by the king. The native population consisted of, 1, *bondsmen*, who could be sold; 2, *serfs*, or *adscripti glebæ*, who were bound to the soil; 3, *common freemen;* the latter were divided into tens and hundreds, and obeyed their officers, called *decani* and *centenarii*. The nobility of the nation consisted of, 1, the *vassals*, who obtained feudal estates from the royal domains, and rendered service at court and in the army; 2, the *barons*, the majority of the Magyars, who had conquered the country, and among whom the districts had been divided at the time of the occupation. The barons still preserved their division into Asiatic tribes or clans. Each family or branch possessed territories, descending by inheritance among its members. All these noble estates were entirely free of taxes or tributes. The diets were held on horseback, in the plain of Rakos (253), where a royal herald proclaimed the resolutions taken. The heathen population, even the Magyars who refused baptism, and criminals, lost their personal liberty and were treated as slaves; those Sclavonians who received baptism, were placed under the protection of the Church as *conditionarii*. The laws for the security of property were austere. King Ladislav gave, in 1078, the most severe laws to protect the cattle on the open pasture-lands between the Theiss and the Danube, which were exposed to the forays of the proud and rapacious Magyar nobles. Neither rank, nor wealth, nor family influence, could save the robber-baron from the axe or the gallows. The Latin language had been introduced together with the Christian religion; soon the court and the tribunals spoke that

tongue, and the Magyar dialect was thus stopped in its development, and banished among the lower classes. Civilization made very slow progress in Hungary, and the breeding of cattle and horses remained for centuries the principal occupation of the Magyars. At the time of the crusades, we find Hungary a well organized kingdom, under the small and misshapen, but high-minded King Kalmany (Coloman), who offered the first crusaders a free passage through Hungary. Yet the disorderly bands of Peter the Hermit burnt Semlin on the Danube, and their rear-guard, under the priest Gottshalk, was therefore surrounded and cut to pieces by the Hungarians. With Godfrey and the Princes, Kalmany had an interview at Tollenburg, on the Leitha, the frontier river, where a treaty was signed for the passage of the army. King Andreas II., with a large Hungarian army, passed into the East in 1217, and landed at Acre, but returned without having assisted the crusaders, or gained glory for himself.

XIII. The Uzi and Kumani.

315. Their Territory, Conquests, and Manners.—Toward the middle of the eleventh century, appear suddenly the numerous hordes of the Uzi and Kumani, on the steppes west of the Volga. They were wild barbarians, of Tartaric blood, and made themselves feared by their neighbors, the Russians, who called them *Polovtzi*.[138] They pressed hard upon the Petcheneges, whom they subdued and mixed up with; and they settled as far westward as the river Aluta. Uniting their different hordes, they crossed the Danube in 1065, and began a desolating invasion into the Greek empire; yet they were soon compelled to return by pestilence and hunger. Their wars with the Russians continued without interruption on the bor-

[138] The Hungarians had many wars with the Kumani, and called them *Chuni*; the Germans gave them the name *Valands*, *Walves*, or *Falones*, from which is derived the German word *Valand*, a wild and desperate adventurer or swordsman.

der, which lay north of the waterfalls of the Dnieper. Alexius Komnenus sent them splendid presents, but it tended only to make them more desirous of plundering the beautiful countries from which they came. Anna Komnena, in her Alexiad, describes the despair of her father, attacked at the same time by the Normans, on the western coasts of Epirus, by the Seldjukian Turks in Asia Minor, and by the Uzi and Kumani in Thrace, where they besieged Adrianople, and spread devastation to the gates of Constantinople. Nor did they stop at the Carpathian Mountains; they entered Transylvania, but were at last surrounded and defeated by King Ladislav, in 1089—who permitted part of them to colonize the Jazygian plains, between the Theiss and the Danube—the later province of *Kumania.* Thus, this terrible nation extended from the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus, along the shores of the Euxine to the mouth of the Danube; and the whole of Southern Russia is in the annals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries called Kumania. On the approach of the Mongols from the defiles of Dervend, in 1222, the Kumani got frightened; they fell back on the Volga, and demanded aid from the grand dukes of Kiew, Wadimir, and Halitch. The Russian princes were suspicious of treachery, but when they learned the reality of the danger, they came on in full force to the support of their old enemies. Yet the bloody day on the river Kalka, in May, 1224, decided the fate both of the Kumani and of the Russians. All bowed beneath the yoke of the Mongols—the Kumani were never to rise again; only the tribes in Hungary survived, and their descendants still inhabit the plains of *Great* and *Little Kumania.* Both the Uzi and the Kumani resembled in ugliness, squalidness, and bestiality, the Petcheneges, to whom they no doubt were related. Their language was spoken in Hungary a century ago; the last man who understood it died in 1770; it is said to have contained many Tartaric words. The names of the Polovtzian clans, which appear in the Russian chronicles, are still found among the Tscherkassians of Mount Caucasus, and it is supposed that this powerful people may

have vanquished the Kumani, and given them their native princes as leaders. The Kumani were as perfidious as they were loathsome. When concluding treaties with the Russians, they used to cut open their veins, and filling a goblet with their blood, they mixed it with that of the Russian envoys, and drank reciprocally, in order to become of one blood and faith. Horses were sacrificed on the sepulchres of their chiefs, whose faithful squires stabbed themselves, to die with their masters. They remained pagans, though they came in constant relations to Constantinople and Kiew; they were nomades, and lived under felt-tents even in Hungary; they were excellent horsemen, and had herds of camels; they shaved off their hair like the Turks, but wore long beards; they were voracious, and ate rats and mice. The Europeans considered them as monsters in human shape, and many a story was told of their devouring human flesh, and carrying pickled children in the saddle-bags along with them on their military expeditions.

III. SOUTHERN EUROPE BETWEEN 973 & 1096.

XIV. Kingdoms of Leon and Castile.

316. Temporary Union and Conquests; Origin of Portugal. The fall of the Ommiyad caliphs of Cordova, and the dismemberment of their empire into a vast number of petty principalities in 1031, afforded an opportunity for the neighboring Christian princes, by successive attacks, during nearly two centuries, to circumscribe the Arab dominion in the Spanish peninsula within the narrow limits of the kingdom of *Grenada*. This conquest would even have been accomplished in a much shorter time, if the feuds and rivalries between the Christians themselves had not retarded the victorious progress of their arms, and the African dynasties of the *Almoravides* in 1094, and of the Almohades in 1147, had not temporarily restored the Saracen power. The country south of the Duero, though occupied by the Christians, remained for

a long time an insecure possession, frequently overrun by the Arabs. Thus, *Coimbra*, *Viseu*, and *Lamego*, which had been reduced by Alfonso I. and his immediate successors, were retaken by the great Mohammedan general Al-Manzor, on his victorious invasion of Galicia (255). Alfonso V., of Leon, fell before Viseu in 1027; but his son-in-law, Fernando I., of Castile, who, after the defeat and death of Bermudo III., in the battle of Carrion, in 1037, ascended the throne of Leon, recovered both Viseu and Lamego in 1057, and the important *Coimbra* opened its gates to the Christian knights in 1058. *Leon*, *Castile*, the *Asturias*, *Galicia*, and the county of *Portu-Cale* (Portugal), remained united during the greater part of the eleventh century, under the enterprising monarchs Ferdinando I. and Alfonso VI.—1037–1109. After a siege of three years, *Toledo*, the ancient capital of the Visigoths, surrendered in May, 1085, and Alfonso advanced rapidly on both banks of the Tagus, occupying the fortresses of *Madrid*, *Maqueda*, and *Guadalajara;* nay, he approached boldly toward the Guadiana, when he was attacked by the innumerable hordes of the African Almoravids, under their great general, Yussef-Ben-Taxfin—*al-nazar-ed-din*—(defender of the faith), in the plain of *Zalaca*, and totally defeated, with the loss of 24,000 of his bravest warriors, in 1087. This check put a stop to the progress of the Castilian king; and as the western conquests were continually exposed to the irruptions of the enthusiastic Almoravids, Alfonso conferred the government of Portugal from the Miño to the Tagus, and the right of conquering as far as the Guadiana on the young hero, Henry of Besançon, a Burgundian prince, who, in 1072, had married his daughter Teresa, and to whose valor he had been indebted for many of his victories. Numbers of Burgundian nobles having joined the banner of Count Henry, he beat back the Almoravids, who, in 1107, made a desperate attack on Coimbra, and laid the foundation of the chivalrous MONARCHY OF PORTUGAL,[126] be-

[126] See the interesting investigations about the origin of the Portuguese monarchy, in the modern Portuguese Historian, Ippolito Herculano. Lisbon, 1846. Vol. I.

fore his death, in 1112. The disgraceful civil war between Queen Urraca and her husband Alfonso—*el Batallador*—of Aragon, brought desolation and misery over Castile. Her son, Alfonso VII., Ramundez of Galicia, united the kingdoms again, 1126–1157, and extended his conquests to *La Mancha* and the *Sierra Morena* in 1138–1141. The important fortress of *Calatrava*, on the Guadiana, was taken, and became later the seat of the military order of that name. The king penetrated even into *Andalucia*, but died in the village of *Fresnada*, near the steep pass of *Muradal*, in the Sierra Morena, on his return from the expedition in 1157. Leon and Castile were now separated for the last time. Fernando II. became king of Leon, and Sancho III., of Castile. This untoward division is indicated in our accompanying map: Castile, *green;* Leon, *violet;* and Portugal (already a kingdom since 1139), *yellow*. The final union of Castile and Leon took place in 1230, under Fernando III. *el Santo*.

317. Cities and Historical Places.—Leon, on the Ben esga, a fine ancient Roman city, remained the capital until the conquest of Toledo, in 1085; and later again, after the division in 1157. Its cathedral church, which, for the elegance and lightness of its Gothic style, is considered the finest in Spain, was begun during this period, but not finished until the fourteenth century. Burgos, in *Castella Vetus*, the residence of the Castilian counts, became later the capital alternately with Toledo, in *Castella Nova*. *Zamora*, on the Duero (255), so celebrated in the Spanish chronicles and romances, as the scene of the siege sustained by Doña Urraca, against her brother, Don Sancho, and the feats of the Cid Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar. *Uclis*, in the province of Toledo, where Don Sancho, the son of Alfonzo VI., fell in battle against the Almoravids. *Alcántara*, on the southern bank of the Tagus, near the frontiers of Portugal, the celebrated castle of the knights of the order of that name. Two cavaliers of Salamanca, Don Suero and Don Gomez, riding along the banks of the Coales, in search of some strong position, which they intended to fortify on the border,

to arrest the forays of the Moors, met with a hermit, who recommended the hermitage of Saint Julian as an excellent site for a fortress. Being supported by the Bishop of Salamanca, they erected a castle around the hermitage, where they were joined by many other nobles and adventurers, all eager to acquire fame and wealth in this life, and glory in the next. Hence the foundation of the order of *St. Julian of Alcántara*, which rendered signal service to the king and church. In an era of religious enthusiasm, the knights, anxious to imitate the Templars in a life of monastical austerity and military discipline, obtained the rule of Saint Benedict. A third military order, instituted somewhat later, in 1161, was that of Santiago, which followed the rule of Saint Augustine. It originated with some notorious bandits of Leon, who, touched with contrition for their past enormities, resolved to make reparation for them, by defending the pilgrims journeying to the sanctuary of Santiago de Compostela (255), whom they themselves formerly so often had robbed. King Fernando II. favored this pious fraternity, who chose the bloody sword of their patron Santiago as their professional badge. The three powerful orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, and Santiago, carried the crusading spirit to its height in Spain, and being richly endowed by the successive kings of Leon and Castile, their possessions, like those of the Templars and Hospitallers, extended over every part of Spain. Life and manners in that country were still simple and austere; they presented a wonderful mixture of heroical bravery, religious fanaticism, and romantic love and poetry.

XV. Kingdom of Aragon and Navarra.

318. Sancho III., *el-Mayor*, of Navarra—1000–1035—was the most powerful prince of his age in Spain (257). Besides *Navarra* and *Sobrarbe*, he held the county of *Aragon*, then confined within the narrow limits of the valleys north of the Ebro. By the marriage of his son Fernando to the heiress of *Leon*, he extended his influence over the west-

ern states of the peninsula, while his army conquered the lordships of *Ribagorza*, and pressed hard upon the French frontier line of the Pyrenees. Yet by dividing his dominions, in 1033, among his four sons, he impeded the development of his people; and it was not until 1076, that *Navarra*, *Aragon*, *Sobrarbe*, *Viscaya*, *Alava*, and *Rioja*, were again united under Don Sancho Ramirez (1076–1094), and formed into a kingdom, whose capital was Pamplona, or Jaca. During the reigns of Don Pedro I. (1094–1104), and the brilliant Alfonso I. el Batallador (1104–1134), it was transferred to Zaragoza. Aragon acquired in 1065 the city of *Barbastro;* in 1083, *Grados;* in 1085, *Monzon;* in 1096, the important *Huesca*, which opened the fertile plain of the Ebro to the Christian arms; and in 1114, the equally considerable *Tudela*. *Zaragoza* fell in 1114, and the fleeing tribes were, in 1119–1121, driven from *Calatayud*, *Daroca*, and *Cotanda*, south of the mountains, toward Valencia. Alfonso, the battle-fighter, perished before *Fraga*, in 1134; and after the short reign of the Monk Ramiro II., the warlike and intelligent Raymond Berengar (Berenguer V. (IV.), Count of Barcelona, was called to the throne of Aragon (257).[177] Thus Catalonia remained, henceforth, united to Aragon, and the brilliant and highly instructive history of this well-organized and powerful kingdom begins in 1137, and continues uninterrupted for three centuries, until the final consolidation of the Spanish monarchy, in 1479, by the marriage

[177] Raymond Berengar IV. was a perfect knight, brave, generous, active, and intelligent, like his forefathers. He owed, however, his election to the seneschal of Catalonia, Guillen de Moncada, who, though unjustly exiled, stood forward in the Aragonian Assembly, and spoke so warmly in favor of the chivalrous Count of Barcelona, that he was elected by acclamation. Yet the prudent Aragonese, ever jealous of their national honor, stipulated that the name of Aragon should, in the public documents, precede that of Barcelona; that Raymond should be styled, not king, but Prince of Aragon and Count of Barcelona, and that his banner, when he advanced to battle, should be intrusted to a knight of their own nation.

of Fernando V. of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. On the death of Alfonso el-Batallador, the Navarrese, rejected the election of Ramiro the monk in Aragon, declared themselves independent, and chose for their king Don Garcias VI. Ramirez, a scion of their old royal dynasty. Both states remained henceforth separate. Rioja and Biscaya fell to the crown of Castile (257). It was not only the union with the county of Barcelona, which strengthened the kingdom of Aragon; it obtained likewise the extensive and important possessions which the Counts of Barcelona had acquired by purchase, inheritance, or marriage, beyond the Pyrenees, in southern France. Count Raymond Berengar I. (II.) *el-Viejo*, the most distinguished prince and cavalier of his day, had bought, in 1070, from the Countess of Carcassonne, all her rights over the viscounties and lordships of *Comminges*, *Conflans*, and *Razéz*,[128] on the slope of the mountains, and of *Minerve* (Menerbœ), *Béziers*, *Agadéz*, and *Carcassonne*, farther north on the coast; and he had victoriously supported his new acquisitions with the sword against the Counts of Toulouse. The lordships of *Bezalu* and *Cerdaña*, south of the Pyrenees, reverted to Raymond III. (IV.), in 1111–1117, and in 1112, he married Dolce, the only daughter and heiress of Count Gilbert of Provence. This magnificent country, which nominally belonged to the German Empire, but, by the neglect of the emperors, had become alienated, remained now under the sway of the Aragonian kings, until the year 1245, when Beatrix, the daughter of the last Berengar, brought it as a dower to her husband Charles of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis of France. Thus strengthened by the rich provinces of southern France, and the active and warlike population of Catalonia, Aragon, toward the middle of the twelfth century, rose at once to a powerful kingdom, and its distinguished monarchs were now enabled to turn their full attention to the war against the

[128] See the classical work of Dr. Ernest Alexander Schmidt. *Geschichte Aragoniens im Mittelalter*. Leipzig. 1828, page 103, et seq.

Arabs. Raymond immediately invested the strongly-fortified *Tortosa*, and carried the city at the point of the sword, by the fanatic bravery of the Knights Templars; *Almeria* surrendered; *Lerida* and *Fraga*, on the Ebro, which had withstood all the assaults of Alfonso el-Batallador, yielded to Prince Raymond, who finally, in 1153, had the glory to deliver all Catalonia and Aragon from the dominion of the Mohammedans.

319. Constitution and Cultivation. The old Visigothic laws (123) had hitherto governed Catalonia; they were abolished by Raymond Berengar II., who substituted the *usages* of Catalonia—*usatica*—and gave a thorough organization to the different classes of the nobility and knighthood. Commerce was flourishing; Barcelona and the cities of Provence rose in wealth and comfort, while the nobility enriched themselves with the spoils of the Moslemin. The Counts of Barcelona were celebrated for their love of the fine arts and literature. Provence became, under their mild sway, the home of the romantic poetry of the Troubadours. Those enlightened princes surrounded themselves with minstrels, artists, and philosophers. The taste of the nobles soon spread through all classes; the Provençal knights no longer considered it beneath their dignity to express their sentiments in songs, and to extol in glowing verses the beauty and virtue of the ladies, whom they defended with their swords. Then arose those tribunals of love—*les cours d'amour*—in which the fair ones were the judges, and awarded the prize of excellence, whether a suit of armor, or a battle-steed, or only a rose from their bosom, no less to the inspired troubadour of the gay science, than to the chivalrous victor of the tournament. The amiable manners of Provence found their way across the Pyrenees, among the proud and taciturn Aragonese and quarrelsome Catalonians, and imparted a rapid development to their language, and a soaring flight to their nascent literature.

XVI. State of Valencia.

320. Origin and Extent. This small kingdom or principality, which is supposed to have extended from the Ebro along the eastern coast of Spain to Orihuela, was conquered from the Moors by the celebrated Roderigo Diaz de Bivar el Seid (the Cid), 1094–1099. Having been exiled from Castile by King Alfonso, the Cid, with his band of hardy warriors, began his forays on the Moorish dynasty of *Al-Hud* in Zaragoza, and the *Almerids* in Valencia. He took Alcozer, and making that place his stronghold, he gathered around him bands of patriots or freebooters, with whom he defeated the Arabs in many skirmishes, and penetrating by Tiruel, in southern Aragon, he established himself in the strong castle called *la Peña del Cid*, the Rock of the Cid, on the northern slope of the mountains of Segura. At Burriana, he met Don Pedro I., of Aragon, with whom he concluded an alliance of friendship and support; and learning the murder of Yahya Al-Kadir, of Valencia, he suddenly marched against that populous Moorish city, which he captured after a long siege. Thus strengthened and supported by Don Pedro I., and an army of thirty thousand Aragonese, el Cid could meet the powerful Almoravids hurrying to the rescue of Valencia. The great battle took place near Xativa, south of the city, where the heroical valor of the Cid and the enthusiasm of his Christian warriors, gained the most brilliant victory over the myriads of African Moors. The glorious career of the Cid el Campeador was closed with the conquest of *Murbiher*,—Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum, and the coastland, as far as Orihuela. All attacks of the Arab chiefs were beaten off, and the hero held Valencia until his death, in 1099. His conquered territory seems to have embraced *Castalona*, *Murbiher*, *Xelves*, *Xativa*, *Denia*, and *Xucar*. *Valencia del Cid*, the beautiful city in its fertile and highly-cultivated plain—*la Huerta*, or the garden, on the banks of the Guadalaviar, was

one of the most important possessions of the Arabs in Spain. Nor did it long remain in the hands of the Christians. After the death of el Cid, it was immediately re-occupied by the Almoravids; and after their downfall, by the Almohads, until King Jayme of Aragon, at last, after the greatest exertions in 1232–1238, expelled the Moors. Great doubts have been raised by modern historians about this early conquest of Valencia, and the kingdom of Roderigo Diaz, the Cid, and even about the existence of that chivalrous character himself; yet we can, with confidence, believe both in the Christian hero and in his conquests, though these exercised but little influence on the geography of the middle ages, on account of their short duration.[129]

XVII. The Norman Duchy of Apulia and Calabria, and the Grand County of Sicily.

321. Origin, Development, and Extent. We have described the condition of Lower Italy at the beginning of the eleventh century (250, 270–72). *Naples*, *Amalfi*, and *Gaeta*, were, like Venice, independent maritime republics; the Lombard princes of *Benevento*, *Capua*, and *Salerno*, recognized nominally the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperors, who still possessed the Italian provinces of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. Henry II. attempted to restore the German influence; in 1021, he marched into Lower Italy, drove the Greeks easily back to the most extreme points of their possessions, conquered Benevento, Salerno, and Naples, and was during the passage every where greeted as sovereign. But this was the last expedition of the Germans. On their retreat beyond the Alps, the Byzantine *catapans* or governors reoccupied the lost provinces, and began

[129] See the doubts in Dunham's critical history of Spain. New-York, 1852, vol. ii., pages 159, and 272–284; and the historical evidence in *Der Cid nach den Quellen*, von Johannes von Müller (1805); and the above-cited History of Aragon, by Dr. Ernest A. Schmidt, pages 49–55.

to attack the Arab emirs in Sicily, while Saracen pirates devastated the coasts of Italy. A few years earlier, in 1016, a band of forty Norman pilgrims, returning from the Holy Land, had offered their services to the Prince Guaimar, of Salerno, and had bravely defeated a numerous host of Saracens, who were then beleaguering his city. The Normans returned to their country; but when an Italian embassy arrived later in Normandy, and made them brilliant offers on the part of the Salernian prince, a band of youthful warriors accepted the invitation, passed into Italy, and took service in his army. Their number soon increased to several thousands; and being disgusted with the mercenary warfare at the small intriguing court of Salerno, they concluded an alliance with a distinguished Greek chief Melo, an exile from Bari, in Apulia, whom they assisted in his feud against the Byzantine Empire.[130] But the Normans, being attacked by the superior forces of the Greek catapan, were defeated with heavy loss; they effected, however, their retreat, and fortifying themselves in *Anversa la Normanna*, between Naples and Capua, they awaited the arrival of fresh bands of their countrymen from Normandy. There they were soon joined by William, Humfrey, and Drogo, the sons of Tancred of Hauteville;[131] and

[130] A new light has of late been thrown on the early conquests of the Normans in Italy, by the discovery of the highly interesting chronicle of a contemporary Benedictine monk, Father Aimé, from the convent of Monte Casino, first published by M. Champollion-Figéac in Paris, 1835. See our article in the New-York American Review, for June, 1848, "*On the adventures and conquests of the Normans in Italy, during the middle ages*, from the Danish of M. Frederick Schiern, professor at the University in Copenhagen.

[131] The ruins of the castle of Hauteville are still seen in the neighborhood of *Coutences*, in Normandy. There lived, in the beginning of the eleventh century, among the flower of the Northmen the brave old Baron Tancred, the friend and companion of Duke Richard the Good, of Normandy. Having spent many years honorably in the service of his liege lord, Tancred returned to his paternal estate, where, with his first wife Muriella, he had five sons, *William*, *Drogo*, *Humfrey*, God-

having surprised the strong city of *Melphia*, commanding the Apulian plain, they, in 1041, began the open war against the Greeks. They had now already a firm footing in Italy; for it was not only the most daring valor and persevering fortitude, but the shrewdest calculations, the cunning and eagle-eye of a Hannibal or Cæsar, which distinguished the Normans above all warriors at this period of their glory. In Melphia, they were met, in 1047, by Robert and Tancred, and somewhat later by the younger brothers, Roger, Malger, and Godfrey, of the noble Hauteville family, whose heavy swords soon drove the Greeks out of Italy, and extended their dominion over the whole of Apulia and Calabria. The victorious Normans then divided the territories among themselves, and fortified every height and defile with impregnable castles, from whose towers the blood-red banner of the North waved in proud defiance of Greek emperors and Romish popes. Robert Guiscard,[122] however, was the soul of that great enterprise; he was the hero of the age, the strongest warrior among the strong, who, in his heavy panoply, sprung up from his fallen steed, and wielded with equal dexterity his broadsword in his right hand and his lance in the left. He carried his arms and his glory across the Ionian Sea to Greece, where his fair enemy, Anna Comnena, the purple-clad princess and historian, in spite of her anger and terror, expressed the admiration with which

frey, and Serlon. After her death, he took another wife, Fredesenda, who bore him seven sons, *Robert Guiscard*, Malger, Alfred, William, Humbert, *Tancred*, and *Roger*, afterwards the celebrated Count of Sicily. All the sons of Tancred were distinguished knights. Serlon fought under William the Conqueror at Hastings, and Alfred inherited the paternal estate. The mother, Fredesenda, with her three daughters, after the death of the old baron, joined her heroical sons in Italy.

[122] Guiscard, or *Wiscard*, is the Icelandic *viske*, the now obsolete English *wiseacre*. Robert was called *the cunning count*. *Cognomen Viscardus erat quia calliditatis; non Cicero tanta fuit nec versutus Ulysses*, says William of Apulia, in his chronicle, page 260.

Robert Guiscard inspired her.[183] The Normans had become the terror of all Italy. Pope Leo IX., with a large army, marched against them; but found himself suddenly surrounded at *Civitella*. The key-soldiers of Saint Peter were totally routed; the pope was taken prisoner, but honorably treated by Robert Guiscard, who received the broad and beautiful lands of southern Italy as a fief of the Holy See of Rome, and became afterwards the staunchest defender of the popes against the German emperors. Robert, as Duke of Apulia, then sent his younger brother Roger with a chosen body of Norman knights across the Straits of Messina, to Sicily, and after the most astonishing feats of valor, the two gigantic brothers had, in 1091, driven every Saracen from the island, every Greek from the mainland, and they then began to prepare their fleets for the conquest of the Byzantine Empire.

322. Division and Cities. A. The duchy of Apulia and Calabria (270–71) embraced the whole southern part of the Italian peninsula as far north as *Terracina* on the west, and the river Tronto on the east, which separated it from Marca Ancona; it was divided into twelve larger provinces: 1. The principality of *Capua—Terra Laboris*—with the counties of *Aquinum Fundi*, *Capua*, *Sora*, and *Anversa*, or Aversa (Atella), called *la Normanna*, the first stronghold of the Northmen, near Capua. 2. Duchy of *Naples*, with *Sorrento*, *Naples*, and *Amalfi*. These brilliant republics (270) opened their gates to the Norman duke, who treated them well, and let them enjoy their commerce and industry; later, however, when they renounced their allegiance to Robert, they were recap-

[183] Though Anna Comnena bitterly complains of his cruelty and thirst of conquest, yet she owns that he was "an Achilles in combat and an Ulysses in cunning; that he with firmness executed his designs, and, above all, aspired to independence and glory:" nay, the image of his manly beauty had made such an impression on the imagination of the Greek princess, that when celebrating the noble appearance of a hero, she calls him *handsome like a knight from Normandy*." Anna Comn. Ed. Bonnæ, i. 50.

tured, and their prosperity destroyed for ever. *Salerno* was the last Lombard city which surrendered to the Normans, in 1077. It still possessed the celebrated Arabic school for medicine, physic, and chemistry. Crowds of students, and patients of the highest rank, and from every country in the world, visited the city. An African Christian, Constantine by name, had then returned from Bagdad, and being an oriental scholar, he lectured on the practice of the Arabian Avicenna, and the improvements of the medical science in the East. Robert Guiscard protected the useful institute, and Salerno preserved its reputation for Arabian learning and literature during the whole period of the Souabian rule in Southern Italy. 3. The marquisate of *Teate*. 4. The county of *Bojano*, with *Venafro*, *San Germano*, and the magnificent and wealthy convent of *Monte Casino*. 5. The county of *Molissio*, northeast from *Civitella* and *Ferlorium*, where Robert Guiscard, in 1051, defeated and captured Pope Leo IX. 6. The province of *Capitanata* with the counties of *St. Angeli*, on Mount Gargano, *Asculum*, *Venosa*, *Lavellum*, *Canna*, *Trani*, *Minerbinum*, *Andria*, *Compsa*, on Mount Apennine, and the strong and fine city of *Melphia* (Melfi), the key to the Apulian plain, on the Ofanto, which Rainulf, the first Norman leader, took by stratagem in 1041. 7. The principality of *Bari*, on the Adriatic was the last city occupied by the Greeks. In the cathedral are seen the sarcophagi of Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemund, prince of Antioch. 8. The principality of *Taranto*, the inheritance of Bohemund. 9. Province of *Basilicata*, with the counties of *Acerenza*, *Monspilosus*, *Gravina*, *Matera*, *Potenza*. 10. Province of *Principato*, with *Avellum*, *Acerra*, and *Frequento*. 11. *Val Cratis*, in Calabria, with *Polycastro*, *Consentia*, and *Russanum*. 12. *Terra Fordana*, the southernmost point of Calabria, opposite to Sicily, with *Melito*, *Reggio*, and *Squillace*.

B. Grand County of Sicily. *Palermo—el-Khalassa*, the favorite city of the Arabs, was stormed and captured by Robert and Roger on the 10th of May, 1072. *Traina* and

Paterna, at the base of Mount Etna, where Roger, with a few hundred Norman knights, victoriously defended himself against thousands of Moslemin. *Castro-Giovanni* (Enna), in the interior, the battle-field where Ali-Ben-Na'amh and the Arabic army was totally routed by the Normans. *Abuthur* (Butera), and *Natis* (Noto), were the last possessions of the Arabs in Sicily, which, however, they kept so late as 1090, when they were forced by Roger to re-cross to Africa, after having inhabited that beautiful island for two hundred and sixty-five years —826–1091. Roger followed up his victories; he conquered the island of Melita (Malta), which then became inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. His son, King Roger, landed in Africa, took *Mahadia*, the capital of the Zeirids, *Tunis*, *Safax*, *Capsia*, *Bona*, the islands of *Karkis* and *Gerbes*, and a long tract of the once so celebrated sea-coast of ancient Carthage; yet, after the first enthusiasm of conquest had passed away, the Sicilian Normans neglected those transmarine possessions, and they were successively evacuated and lost under the troubled reign of King William the Bad, in the twelfth century.

XVIII. The Italian Republics.

323. Their Commercial Activity and Conquests. Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Como, and the other populous and wealthy cities of Lombardy, had already begun, in 1056, to constitute themselves as independent republics, with their consular governments, city banners, and militia. Pisa and Genoa, long rivals in commercial enterprise and military prowess, succeeded in driving the Saracens from *Sardinia*, in 1009. They divided the island between their republics, and governed it by judges. The Sardinian judicatures were: 1, *Gallura*, in the northeast; 2, *Turres*, northwest; 3, *Arborea*, southwest; and, 4, *Calaris* (Cagliari), southeast. But soon dissensions and violent feuds breaking out between their feudatories, the Pisans gained the upper hand, and expelled the Genoese from the

greater part of the island; the latter could only sustain themselves in the southern *Cagliari*, and in *San Bonifazio* on the island of *Corsica*. This island the Pisans likewise obtained in 1092, as a fief of the papal see of Rome. Both these strong and flourishing democracies took thenceforth the most active and lucrative part in the earlier crusades, until, in the twelfth century, their mercantile envy and bitter hatred produced that maritime war, which, after the naval battle near Melloria, off the coast of Leghorn, in 1282, terminated with the destruction of the Pisan fleet and commerce, and the downfall of that republic.—VENICE had, in the mean time, extended her conquests along the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts (272). She occupied the strong cities of *Zara*, *Sebenico*, *Trau*, and *Spalatro*, together with the islands *Opsara*, *Pago*, *Cherso*, *Grossa*, *Arbe*, *Brazza*, *Lissa*, *Lesina*, and *Curzola*. At home the rivalry of the proud families, Morosini and Caloprini, retarded the development of the republic during the greater part of the eleventh century. Venice, fearing the ambitious plans of Robert Guiscard against the Byzantine empire, formed alliance with Alexius Comnenus, and defeated the Norman fleet off Corfu; thus preparing herself for the important part she was to occupy in the crusading expeditions which, in the thirteenth century, brought her to the height of her influence and power.

XIX. THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

324. FRONTIERS AND EXTENT. At the close of the eleventh century, and immediately before the great crusade, the northern frontiers of the Greek Empire were nominally the same as at the time of Otho the Great, in 973. They ran along the southern banks of the Danube and the Save, westward, as far as the river *Unna*, a tributary of the latter, and then south to Mount Scardus and the lake of Scodra, still embracing the southern part of the Dyrrhachian theme (270). *Bulgaria* and *Servia* were thus considered as provinces of the empire. Subdued by Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimisces

the Bulgarians recognized the sovereignty of the emperors, but they attempted repeatedly to break their chains, under their intelligent chief, Simeon, until they were totally defeated and prostrated by the heavy sword of Basil II.,—Βουλγαροκτόνος, or, the *Bulgar-slaughterer*—in 1017–18.[134] Yet we learn, from the disastrous passage of Peter the Hermit, and the first crusaders, in 1096, that armed Bulgarian bands occupied the forest lands —*Silva Bulgarorum*—from the Danube, along the Morava to *Naïssus* and *Sternitza*, or *Triaditza* (now Sofiá), at the base of Mount Hæmus, where thousands of pilgrims perished by the arrows of that fierce people. It was only at the latter place that ambassadors of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus appeared, who led the perishing crusaders safely through the mountain passes toward Adrianople and the capital. SERVIA (Serblia), too, had thrown off the yoke under Stephan Boistlaf, in 1040 (196), and expelled the Byzantine governors. That spirited people maintained their independence, and extended their kingdom beyond the Morava on the east, and to the shores of the Adriatic on the west, with Scodra for their capital.[135] Epirus began already to be called *Albania*,

[134] Basil made the immense booty of ten thousand pounds weight of gold, or two millions of dollars, at the capture of the Bulgarian capital, Achris, on the lake Lychnidus. Having surrounded and cut off the Bulgarian army, he inflicted a most atrocious punishment on the *fifteen thousand* captives, who had been taken with arms in their hands for the defence of their country. Basil ordered them to be deprived of sight; but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind company to the presence of their king. Simeon, oppressed with grief and horror, fell down dead at the awful spectacle. The Bulgarians were swept away to the north of Mount Hæmus, their old province, where they brooded vengeance until the later terrible outbreak, in 1186.

[135] The Servian *kral* (king) recognized the supremacy of the pope, like the Duke of Apulia, and divided his kingdom into fifteen bishoprics, which, however, later, returned to the Greek Church. The condition of the Servians (Raitzi) was rude; the kral lived like a farmer among his cattle; the chase of the bear and the wild boar was his only

and Thessaly *Blachia*. All the Italian provinces had been conquered by the Normans in 1072, and though Alexius with courage and skill beat off the attacks of Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemund, on Epirus, yet King Roger of Sicily inflicted, in 1146, by the desolation of Greece, a mortal wound on the prosperity of the country. When we turn our regard to the lately flourishing provinces of Asia Minor, the prospect becomes still more gloomy. There, the Seldjukian sultan, Alp Arslan, had, in 1071, defeated and captured the emperor, Romanus Diogenes, at *Malazkerd*, in Armenia, and both Suleiman and his son Kilidj Arslan (Lion with the sword) had, during the following years, extended the Turkish conquests throughout the finest themes of Asia Minor, and fixed their capital at Nicæa, almost in sight of Constantinople herself. Of all the Asiatic themes, only *Chaldia* and *Paphlagonon*, on the Pontus, parts of *Optimaton* and *Opsikion*, and those of *Thrakesion*, *Cypros*, and *Samos*, and the smaller islands, still remained to the empire on the accession of Alexius Comnenus to the throne, in 1081.

325. His task was a most difficult one; the eastern empire had become weakened by the incapacity of Constantine, the rebellion of Bardas Phokas, the extravagancies of the Empress Zoë and her lover, Michael the Paphlagonian, and the internal feuds between the generals Bryennius and Botoniates, after the defeat of the Emperor Romanus. All was disorder and misery. The monstrous Petcheneges crossed the Danube, and swarmed, burning and destroying to the gates of the capital. The Normans attacked the unprotected coasts of Greece, while the Turkish cavalry swept the plains of Natolia, and planted their banners on the battlements of Nicæa and Nikomedia. It seemed, in 1081, as if the last hour of Byzantium had

enjoyment; his queen sat with the distaff; and his subjects, in their plundering propensity, would not spare the flocks and herds of the kral himself.

struck. Yet Alexius Comnenus was a prince of extraordinary talents; active, prudent, courageous, cunning and inventive, he found the arms and the intellect even among the unwarlike, monkish Greeks of the eleventh century, to repel his perfidious enemies, and restore the integrity of the state. Nor can we wonder that the emperor cherished the brightest hopes from the armaments of chivalrous Europe, and that he sent ambassadors and presents to France to hasten the march of the crusaders. But how great must have been his disappointment, on beholding the ragged, emaciated bands of pilgrims the companions of Peter the Hermit, and later his doubts and anxiety at the sight of the camps of half a million of mail-clad semi-barbarians, extending along the unprotected shores of the Bosphorus.[136] There, among the proud chieftains, Alexius

[136] We must not present to ourselves the crusading armies in that pomp and glittering array, in which, two centuries later, we meet the French, English, and Spanish chivalry on the battle-fields of Crecy, Poitiers, or las Navas de Tolosa. We are yet in the early age of that institution; we have before us the heroes of Homer, in their rude and simple grandeur, not the brilliant Athenians at Marathon, nor Alexander at the head of his Macedonian phalanx. The early crusaders are not yet the plumed and crested cavaliers, on their barbed and caparisoned steeds, cased in gilt or burnished plate armor, as described by Froissard and Commines. Godfrey of Bouillon, Tancred, and the other pilgrims of rank still wear the clumsy hauberk, or coat of chain-mail, covering the head like the monk's cowl, with sleeves, and their mittens, instead of gauntlets, and falling down to their knees like a cartman's blouse. The hose and pointed shoes of mail, with long iron spurs without rowels, and the low, flat steel cap placed over the mail-hood, without a visor or beaver, completed the ungraceful costume of the first crusaders. Only the triangular shield or scutcheon, hanging down over the breast, is painted in brilliant colors, and the emblazoned surcoat, lined with ermine-vair, is thrown over the hauberk. The war-horses are yet totally defenceless, and we observe with astonishment how they sink by thousands before the arrows of the skirmishing Turks, until the Christians afterwards adopted the Saracenic fashion of barbing their steeds with a complete cover of horse armor.

Such is the appearance of the 100,000 mounted knights and squires, who with 400,000 light-armed foot soldiers, of *both sexes*, says the

beheld his mortal enemy Bohemund, the Norman, who, as a mere boy with his daring chevaliers, had cut his way into the heart of the empire, and with the lance on his thigh, had galloped through the whole length of it, despising the feeble attempts of the Greeks to resist his invasion. Nor was there any crowned head to control the wild passions of so many independent leaders, whose coarse manners and rude accoutrements excited the disdain of the polished and elegant Byzantines. The Franks and Greeks were, in conditions of society, too dissimilar for them to associate familiarly and friendly together. Political order and civil law were, in the opinion of the Greeks, the true bonds of society; the right of the individual to redress his own wrongs with his sword, was among the Franks the most valuable privilege of existence. The authority of the central government, in the well-organized administration of the Byzantine Empire, reduced the greatest nobles to the rank of abject slaves in the opinion of the feudal barons, while the right of every private knight to decide questions of law by an appeal to his sword, was a monstrous absurdity in the eyes of the Greeks, and seemed to render society among the western nations little better than an assemblage of bandits. The conduct of the Latin clergy did nothing to promote Christian charity. The contempt of the learned eastern prelates for the ignorance of their Latin brethren was even changed into abhorrence, when they beheld men calling themselves bishops, prancing about the streets of Constantinople in coats of mail. The Latin priesthood, on the other hand, despised both the pastors and the flocks, when they saw men hoping by scholastic phrases to influence the conduct of warriors; and they condemned the Christianity which suffered its priests to submit to the authority of the civil magistrate in the servile spirit of the Greek clergy.[137] Thus the nations

Archbishop of Tyre, prepare to cross the Straits and conquer the Holy Land.

[137] See this interesting passage in Colonel Finlay's Mediæval Greece (page 86), from which we have borrowed it.

could not understand each other. Both accused their rivals of falsehood and treachery, and scenes of fearful disorder were the consequence. The Greeks attempted to surprise the camp of Godfrey, and were punished by the conflagration of the beautiful suburbs, palaces, and country-seats on the Bosphorus. We must not be unjust to Alexius. His position was difficult in the extreme. He sent rich presents to the chiefs, and persuaded them by fealty to swear allegiance to the empire for the lands they were going to conquer in the East.[138] In return, he furnished those disorderly multitudes with provisions and vessels for their passage into Asia; he aided them by the superior skill of the Greek engineers, during the siege of Nicæa; and we cannot wonder that he shrewdly planted his imperial banner on the walls to secure that important city from desolation, and the Turkish prisoners from slaughter. Alexius profited by the great crusade, *Nicæa*, *Nicomedia*, *Dorylæon*, the greater part of Asia Minor, as far as the plains of Ikonium and all the coast-lands returned once more under the imperial sceptre. By his brilliant victory over the Petchenegian hordes, he intimidated both Bulgarians and Servians, and the Byzantine eagle banner once more floated from the fortresses on the Danube. The discipline of the Byzantine armies, which had relaxed during the internal feuds, was revived, and a new generation of chiefs and warriors was created, with whom his excellent successors, Calojohannes and Manuel were enabled to protect the empire during still more threatening dangers. In his long reign of thirty-seven years, Constantinople enjoyed order and tranquillity; the strength of the Basilian laws was restored; arts,

[138] It was in the splendid palace of *Blachernæ*, now a desolate ruin, where, in the presence of the glittering court, Godfrey of Bouillon bent his knee to the emperor, and was adopted his son. The oath of allegiance was repeated by all the crusading chieftains, except by the old Count Raymond of Toulouse, though he afterwards showed himself more faithful towards Alexius than the others. See the lively scene in Walter Scott's last novel, *Count Robert of Paris*.

literature, and science were cultivated, and the emperor in his old age enjoyed the happiness of seeing an eloquent and imperishable monument of his reign produced by his lovely daughter Anna Comnena.

IV. THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD

IN WESTERN ASIA AND NORTHERN AFRICA DURING THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

States of the Seldjukian and Ortokid Turks.

326. Origin, Development, and Conquests of the Turks. We have visited the Mohammedan dynasties of the Ghaznavids, Ghorids, and Khowaresmids, on the banks of the Oxus, through Khorasan, on the Indus, and in Hindostan (275–76). The scimitar of the Arabs had never entirely subdued the nomadic tribes of the ancient *Massagetæ*, or Scythians,[139] who, with their herds of horses and cattle, roamed over the extensive plains of Sogdiana, the *Mawar-al-Nahr* of the Arabs (212), between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and northeast of the latter river toward the frontiers of China. From their chan Oghus, they early took the name of *Oghusians;* and when they, in the tenth century, were converted to Islam, they called themselves *Turkmanieh*, Turkmans, or

[139] A graphic picture of the ancient Turkish tribes, and the accurate description of the Caspian Sea is given already by Herodotus. "The Caspian," says the father of history, "is a separate sea of itself, being in length a fifteen days' voyage for a rowing-boat; and in breadth, where it is widest, an eight days' voyage. On the western shore of this sea, stretches the Caucasus, which is in extent the largest, and in height the loftiest of all mountains; it contains within itself many and various nations, who, for the most part, live upon the produce of wild fruit-trees. This mountain then bounds the western side of the Caspian; and on the east, toward the rising sun, succeeds a plain in extent unbounded in the prospect. A great portion of it is inhabited by the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus, the Persian King, resolved to make war," &c.—Clio 204—215.

faithful (devout) horsemen. Their different tribes had a military organization, and they were divided into the *three arrows of the left wing*, and the *three breakers of the right*. The three latter tribes were situated on the west, toward the Caspian Sea, and to them belonged the celebrated *Seldjukian Turks*. They did not from the beginning form a race by that name; they were, on the contrary, young adventurers from all the tribes of the right wing, who had gathered around the bold and enterprising Emir Seldjuk, and won fame and wealth in successful expeditions against the contending Arabian dynasties south of the river Oxus. Soon, the victorious bands of Seldjuk were swelled by thousands of Turkman cavaliers. The effeminate Arabs offered the brilliant young warriors pay and booty for the service of their arm and bow; and thus, we at once see them form themselves into well-organized squadrons of mercenaries, who may be compared to the Varanghians of Constantinople (226, 262), the Catalonians and Almugavars of the thirteenth century, and the still more celebrated *Italian Condottieri* of the fourteenth and fifteenth. The service of these Turkish hirelings, ever ready for fighting, was eagerly sought by the petty dynasties in Khorasan and Zabulistan, in their wars the one against the other; gradually, the Turks became so formidable, that the nephew of Seldjuk, Toghrul-Beï was proclaimed sultan by his warriors in 1037. Fortune smiled on his *beiraks*.[140] He overthrew the Ghasnavid dynasty in Khorasan (275), and extended his conquests throughout Persia, from the Oxus to the Tigris. The Abassid Caliph, Abdallah V. Kaim-Beamrillah, a captive in the hands of his powerful emirs, the Buids (277), called Toghrul-Beï and his Turks to Bagdad, and made him emir-al-omrah, in 1063. The new dignity, the impetuous bravery, and excellent tactics of the Turkish sultans, made them irresistible. Alp-Arslan

[140] The Turkish banner—*beirak*—consisted formerly of a silver crescent and a horse-tail—*tooghi*—fixed on the point of a lance. The present Turkish army have purple standards with the half moon.

and his son Malek Shah, *Djelal-ed-Din* and *Djelal-ed-Daula* (the Glory of Faith and Power), followed up the victories of their great ancestor; all the lands west of the Euphrates, Armenia, Syria, and Asia Minor, bowed beneath the sabre of the Seldjuks. But, after the death of the great Malek-Shah, in 1062, the immense empire of the Turks fell to pieces, and formed already a number of independent Sultanates on the first appearance of the crusaders in Asia in 1097.

XX. Seldjukian Sultanate of Rum.

327. Extent and Cities.—*The Sultanate of Rum* (Rumili), or *Iconium*, consisted of provinces which were conquered from the *Romans* (Greeks) by Sultan Suleiman, the nephew of Malek-Shah, in 1074. It was the most extensive and powerful of the Seldjukid Sultanates, and embraced the fertile lands between Armenia, the upper Euphrates, the Taurus, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Isauria, Phrygia, the southern parts of Pontus and Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pamphylia, Lycia, with the cities of Nicæa and Dorylæum, in Bithynia. *Iconium* (Koniah), in the open Lycaonian plain, was the early capital of the sultans. They soon, however, removed their residence to Nicæa, on the Askanian lake, which became the scene of the first great event of the crusades. That strongly fortified city was closely besieged by 500,000 crusaders from May 5th to June 20th, 1097, when, after the defeat of Sultan Kilidj Arslan before its gates, it surrendered to Alexius Comnenus, and became a second time the bulwark of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine empire. *Xerigordon*, a small town, twelve miles from Nicæa, where the crusading bands of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless suffered a dreadful defeat by the Turkish emir, El-Canes, in 1096. Of twenty-five thousand pilgrims, only three thousand, with Kuku-Peter escaped to the coast of *Kibotus*, whence they were shipped back to Constantinople. The Turks afterwards used the bones of the slain to fence their vineyards in the environs. *Dorylæum*—Δορύλαιον

—in the beautiful valley of Gorgoni, at the base of Mount Dagóstenon, in Phrygia, on the river Thymbres, a tributary of the Sangarios (264), became the battle-field of the greatest cavalry combat of modern history. Sultan Kilidj Arslan, of Iconium, more provoked than dismayed by the loss of his capital Nicæa, had assembled a still larger army, and was hovering on the flanks of the advancing crusaders; and when he learned that they had separated into two bodies, while crossing the hills of Dagóstenon, he immediately resolved to strike a blow, and advanced rapidly with 150,000 horsemen, without a single foot-soldier, on the 1st of July, 1097. It was still in the gray of the morning, when the Norman scouts, outside the camp of Bohemund, at Dorylæum, were startled by a rocking of the ground, like an earthquake; and soon the trampling, the neighing, and clattering of advancing horse, announced the approach of the Moslemin. Bohemund immediately ordered all the carriages to drive up in square, on the banks of the Thymbres, as a protection for the women and sick pilgrims, while Robert Curthose of Normandy, formed on the left wing, Tancred on the right, and Bohemund himself, with the Italo-Norman chivalry, covered the rear. Yet, before these dispositions were executed, the Turkish masses already threw themselves across the river, and the terrific battle began. The Christian knights, in their heavy panoply, and unacquainted with eastern warfare, charged full gallop, with couched lances, into the midst of the Turkmans, who turned bridle to allure them on, while other squadrons advanced to attack them in the flanks. Thus, Tancred, having lost his steed, was surrounded on all sides, and in imminent danger, until Bohemund burst forward and saved him; yet, overpowered by numbers, and having lost their horses by the arrows of the infidels, the Christians were forced back across the river with severe loss. This was the first great struggle of the crusades; here, at Dorylæum, the Christians were taught to change their contempt for the unwarlike nations of Asia into admiration at the higher tactics and the impetuous valor of the Mussulmans.

Rapidly extending their deeply ranged squadrons in the form of an immense semicircle, the Turks instantly outflanked the crusaders, and, sending in volley after volley of arrows, they brought them down by hundreds. The Normans, in their rage, attempted to spur forward, but the Turks wheeled around them under continual discharges. The forces of the Christians became exhausted; horse and foot mingled in frightful disorder, and began to seek refuge among the carriages; their total defeat seemed already at hand, when Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse appeared on the southern hills at the head of 50,000 horse. Godfrey, entirely unacquainted with the danger of the Normans, had continued his march south, toward the Phrygian city of Antioch, when some Norman knights, spurring after him, announced the danger of Bohemund. Godfrey, immediately ordering his infantry to encamp, hurried back with the French and German chivalry. On his appearance, the Turkish trumpets and kettle-drums sounded the retreat, and their wild masses recrossed the river, but formed again on the brow of Mount Dagóstenon. With incredible enthusiasm, the Normans now advanced on the right; the fine old Raymond of Toulouse took the centre with his Provençals; Godfrey and his brothers, Baldwin and Eustache, the left, with the Germans; and thus closely massed, 80,000 Christian knights, with waving banners, couched lances, and the cheering shout, "God willeth it"—"*Dieu le veut*"—rushed thundering along to the decisive charge. The Turks, on their panting and jaded horses, with empty quivers, still resolve to regain the victory with the edge of the scimetar. But, at the first onset of the crusaders, they are borne down and thrown into irrecoverable confusion; and when, at last, the brave Bishop Ademar of Puy, with the rear-guard, by a circuitous route, suddenly falls on their flanks, they are surrounded and totally defeated. The pursuit now became terrific; for six miles the Christian sword and lance raged among their broken and flying horse; the Moslemin spurred away for their lives, dispersing over the Phrygian plains, and disappear-

ing, at last, behind the mountains of Angora. Four thousand emirs and sheiks, and twenty thousand Turkman troopers, covered the field; their camp, their herds of horses and camels, and an immense booty, fell into the hands of the victorious crusaders. Asia Minor was won at one blow; the road to Syria lay open; and the Christian sword had humbled the pride of the proudest prince of Islam.—*Philomelion* (Aksher), in the Pisidian plain, on the road to Iconium, where the Danish prince Swend, with his bride Florina of Burgundy, and two thousand Danish and Norwegian knights, were surrounded by the Turkish sultan of Iconium, and after the most heroical defence, cut down to a man, in October, 1097, during the siege of Antioch, by the main army of the crusaders.[141] *Tarsus* (266), on the Cydnus, in Cilicia, a thriving city at that time, mostly inhabited by Christians, Greeks, and Armenians, occupied with commerce and agriculture. Here the retainers of Tancred, the Norman, and of Baldwin, the haughty brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, began an open war about the possession of the city, in which many lives were lost, and the dispute not settled without some difficulty. Cilicia formed afterwards a small independent Armenian kingdom under its own dynasty of kings, who resided in Adana.

XXI. The Sultanates of the Ortokids.

328. Besides the Seldjuks, other Turkish hordes had invaded the Caliphate, among whom the Ortokids were the most distinguished. The founder of their dynasties was Ortók-Beï,

[141] See the beautiful episode in Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," in which the great poet describes the nocturnal battle, the heroism and fall of the Danes.

"Sveno del re dei Dani unico figlio,
Gloria e sostegno alla cadente etade
Esser tra quei bramò ch'l pio consiglio
Seguendo han cinto per Gesù le spade;" etc.
Canto VIII. *Stanze* 6-42.

who settled with his band in Armenia, in 1082, when the Seldjuks allowed him to occupy Jerusalem. This Turkman tribe was more savage than the Seldjuks; they augmented the oppression of the Christian pilgrims, whom they insulted and tortured in the most awful manner, until, at last, the Fatimid caliph of Egypt sent an army into Palestine, in 1096, which drove the Ortokids out of the city; they sustained themselves, nevertheless, in *Mardin*, *Diarbekir*, and in *Armenia* (Khelat), during continual feuds with the crusaders, until they were defeated and extirpated by the Ejubids and the sultans of Iconium, toward the close of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

XXII. The Atabeks in Al-Djesirah and Persia.

329. Extent and Cities. The Sultanate of Iran (Persia), the second in power after that of Iconium, and the principal seat of the Seldjukian princes, extended eastward to the Indus and Mount Muztag, on the frontiers of China. Bagdad, on the Tigris, was still the residence of the caliph, who, at that time, had lost his political power, and being entirely dependent on the Great Sultan, was reduced to the mere performance of preaching, and other religious functions in the mosque. *Ispahan* soon became the splendid capital of the Turks and New Persians, and the seat of their literature and choicest architecture. *Vishabour*, the capital of Khorasan, with gorgeous monuments of the Gasnavid princes. The Seldjukid sultans did not learn prudence from the example of the caliphs; they likewise intrusted their slaves or officers, and principally their teachers and guardians—the Atabeks, or fathers of the princes—with extensive powers, and the government of entire provinces. Thus, several dynasties arose in *Laristan*, *Faristan*, and *Irak*, which contributed to the total dissolution of the Seldjukian empire; civil war raged throughout the country; the fields were desolated; famine and misery prevailed; the cities became abandoned by their inhabit-

ants, who took up arms, or fled to the mountains for protection, while the wild beasts roamed through the land in search of prey. Djelal-ed-Din Mankbernî put an end to this state of things in 1225

XXIII. Seldjukid Principalities in Syria.

330. The sons of Ortók-Beï had maintained themselves in Syria: Rodwan in *Halep*, and Dokak in *Damascus*, about 1095. Yet a few years later, Emah-ed-Din, Zenghi (1121–1145), the *atabek* of Mossul, made himself independent, and extended his influence by important conquests from the Ortokids and the crusaders. Zenghi was a distinguished man; he showed himself indefatigable in his administration, and the execution of the laws; he bridled the avarice and arrogance of his *emirs* and *cadis*, to whom he gave an example of moderation himself; he kept the strictest discipline among his troops; and he shrewdly discovered that the religious enthusiasm of the Frank crusaders could only be vanquished by his exciting a similar fanaticism among the Moslemin. After the conquest of Edessa, in 1144, he was stabbed by a domestic slave, and his dynasty was then divided into different lines. The most important arose in Halep (Aleppo). There Zenghi was succeeded by the great atabek Mohammed Nour-ed-Din (1145–1174), whose praise filled the East, and still re-echoes in the chronicles of the crusaders. Nour-ed-Din was long considered as the *beau ideal* of oriental princes; terrible in his continual wars against the Christians, just and humane in the tribunal, moderate and virtuous in his habits, and in an eminent degree combining the great qualities of the statesman, the general, and the high-priest; he repelled all the attacks of the Christians, captured several of their most renowned heroes, and laid, by his expedition to Egypt at the request of the caliph, Mohammed Moktasi Beamrillah, in Bagdad, the foundation of a large empire, when death suddenly called him off, in 1174.[142] His general, Shirkuh, the Kurd,

[142] The *tyrbé* or sepulchre of Nour-ed-Din stands in the great bazaar at Damascus. Pilgrims still flock to his sanctuary, which is surrounded

and the cousin of Nour-ed-Din, Salah-ed-Din (Saladin), overturned the Fatimid dynasty, and the latter, after the conquest of Egypt, dispossessed the sons of Nour-ed-Din, and founded, in 1181, the powerful Ejubid dynasty, which proved so fatal to the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. The other smaller lines of Nour-ed-Din, in Mesopotamia (1149), remained in obscurity, and perished beneath the sword of the Mongols.

V. NORTHERN AFRICA AND SOUTHERN SPAIN DURING THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

331. Principal States. The Arabian dynasties in Northern Africa, who had more or less influence on the crusades, can be reduced to three: these states were in their order from east to west.

XXIV. The Caliphate of the Fatimids in Egypt.

332. At the time when the Christian army advanced upon Palestine, Jerusalem was held by Mosta Abulkasem, of Cairo, who had, in 1096, expelled the Ortokid princes and defended the Holy City against Godfrey of Bouillon and the first crusaders with an army of thirty thousand troops, under the command of the brave old Iftikhar-ed-Daulah. The relations between the caliphs and the kings of Jerusalem remained alternately hostile or friendly until the final overthrow of the last Fatimid, Ahded-Ledin-Illah, in 1171, by Salah-ed-Din (331).

XXV. The Kingdom of Kaïrouan or Mahadia.

333. Moer-Ledin-Illah (213, 280) had left Yusuf-Ben-Zeiri as governor in Kaïrouan, when he marched to Egypt.

by elegant arcades, having a tank in the centre shaded by funeral cypresses. The entrance is shut by chains, and as Christians we could not obtain permission to visit the interior during our visit to Damascus, in 1844.—See the Article "*An Excursion to Damascus and Ba'albek*," in the New-York Review for August and September, 1848, p. 165.

This dignity passed to the descendants of the latter, who did not tarry to declare themselves independent of the Fatimid court at Cairo. They maintained their position, and foiled the languid attacks of the Egyptians; but when, in 1070, the enterprising Normans expelled their emirs from Sicily and invaded Africa, the Zeirids were defeated and lost. The last chief, Hasan, was dethroned by King Roger I.; Mahadia, Kairouan, and Tripolis, were captured, and the Zeirid possessions, in the interior of Africa, were soon occupied by the roving Berbers and the Almoravids of Morocco. Only a lateral line, the Hammadids, in Budjá, south of Algiers, were able to make a stand for some years longer.

XXVI. The Empire of the Almoravids in Al-Magreb and Spain.

334. Their Origin, Progress, and Settlement in Spain. —Beyond Mount Atlas, in the deserts of ancient Getulia, dwelt several Arabian tribes, who, from their habit of covering their faces, were called the Veiled—*Molathemin*. Among them arose a fanatic reformer of Islam, Dshaubar, who preached the holy war. The whole tribe became frantic with piety, and were called *Marabutes*, Morabeths (Al-Moravids), or Zealots. They chose Abu-Bekr for their *Emir-el-Moslemin*, in 1056, who, with his followers, crossed Mount Atlas, and conquered Morocco with the sword. His great successor, Yusuf-Ben-Taxfin, formed a mighty empire in Magreb-al-Aksa (214), and, following the call of the petty kings of *Andalos* (Spain), who had risen on the downfall of the Ommiyad caliphs, he appeared beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, in 1086, with an irresistible army of fanatics, and defeated King Alfonso VI. in the great battle near *Zalaca*, where thousands of corpses covered the battle-field, and the Castilian king only escaped destruction by the valor of his knights (316). Yusuf is the revered hero of the Arab historians, who describe his person and character in the most favorable colors. All the petty princes, the

Abadids of *Sevilla*, the Beni-Alaftas, in *Badajoz*, and the others in *Cuenza*, *Xativa*, *Murcia*, *Almeria*, *Denia*, *Lerida*, *Tortosa*, *Huesca*, and *Tudela* yielded to the new Marabut devotees. Only the Family Al-Hud, in Zaragoza, maintained their seat until 1146. The Almoravids turned their arms against the hero of Valencia, but all their furious attacks were repelled by Ruy Diaz de Bivar, el Campeador, and only after his death, in 1099, did they obtain temporary possession of that small kingdom. Their sway in Spain lasted only some fifty years, and in 1180, they were dispossessed by the brilliant *Almohads*—Al-Muahedim—the Arabic *Unitarians* from Morocco. The Almoravids were men of capacity; Spain became a flourishing country during their rule. In Europe, they soon adopted the chivalrous manners of their antagonists, the Christians; but in Africa they remained nomades, and lived like Bedouins. There were many celebrated colleges and schools in Africa. The greatest Arabic philosopher, Ibn Roshd (Averrhoes, from Cordova, who died in 1198), was the first translator of Aristotle, and taught in the high-school at Morocco. Poetry was cultivated in Fez, where poetical combats were instituted, with rewards for the victorious poet. But the uncertainty of property by the continual revolutions, retarded all moral progress; the manners were sensual and corrupt, and the mass of the nation were, by their rulers, held in a degrading bondage.

Such was the state of the world at the beginning of the crusading wars, toward the close of the eleventh century.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ORIENT,

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY DURING THE TIMES OF THE CRUSADES.

A. Kingdoms and Principalities founded by the Crusaders between A. D. 1096 and 1291 (1310).

335. Historical Remarks.—The bloody victory at Dorylæum (328), in 1097, had secured the advance of the great crusading army through Asia Minor. After suffering dreadfully in the desert plains of Lycaonia, they crossed Mount Taurus, and soon encamped in the rich valleys of Cilicia and Merash. From thence Baldwin of Boulogne, the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, with a band of knights, undertook the conquest of Edessa, beyond the Euphrates, while the main body of the Christian army, descending to the banks of the Orontes, laid siege to Antioch in October of the same year. The strength of this still magnificent city, the valor of its commander, Baghi-Sejan and his numerous garrison, the want of provisions, sickness and misery, prolonged the investment and decimated the Christian army in the most fearful manner; many thousands sank into their graves; and when the survivors at last, in July 1098, by a secret understanding with Armenian residents, succeeded in capturing the city and taking an awful revenge on the Turks, they immediately found themselves besieged in their new conquest by the immense army of Korboga, the Sultan of Mossul, on the Tigris. Yet, despair fired the courage of the Christians, and sallying forth in the highest enthusiasm with Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Bohemund, and

Tancred, at their head, they brilliantly defeated the Turkish masses on the 28th of July, 1098, and driving them across the Euphrates, made an immense booty, and returned in triumph. Thus miraculously securing their conquests of Edessa, Antioch, and occupying many castles in Mount Lebanon, they prepared for the toilsome march to Jerusalem. The prudent and generous Godfrey of Bouillon was the soul of the enterprise, and uniting the warring and quarrelling chiefs of the different corps of the diminished Christian army, at last moved rapidly along the Syrian coast, supported by the Pisan, Genoese, and Venetian fleets. Thus then, at length, in May, 1099, the wearied feet of the staunch crusaders, after so many privations and dangers, trod the cherished soil of that hallowed land, and on the 6th of July, they beheld from the western range of Mount Ephraim the object of their ardent hopes and desires—Jerusalem! One universal shout of joy filled the air, vibrating in undying echoes from hill to hill, while tears of rapture burst from every eye. On they moved, and their noble leader could scarcely prevent them from rushing forward at once, in their wild enthusiasm, to storm the walls of the holy city. But Godfrey soon perceived that the conquest of the city was not so easy, and could not be effected by an onset with sword and lance alone—especially as the Egyptian garrison (233), was much stronger in numbers than the crusaders, of whom, out of 600,000 only 40,000 were now encamped before the walls. At length, every preparation being made, and battering-engines, wooden towers, and storming-ladders provided, in spite of every existing difficulty, by the effective support of the Genoese engineers and mariners, the first general assault was attempted on the 14th of July; but as the besieged defended themselves with dauntless bravery, the Christians were driven back with heavy loss. On the following day, however, the whole army renewed the attack from the north and west. The tower of Godfrey approached the battlements, the drawbridge was flung down, and that hero was himself one of the first who reached the walls of the

conquered Jerusalem. Tancred, the Norman, scaled the northwestern towers at the same time; the Gate of Saint Stephen was thrown open, and in rushed the Christian host. The Saracens, abandoning the walls, sought now their refuge within the sacred enclosure of the Mosque of Omar, on Mount Moriah—but a dreadful scene of massacre began, and even the generous Tancred was not able to save the prisoners who had surrendered to him. Only old Raymond of Toulouse, who had early occupied the Tower of David—the ancient Hippicus—succeeded in securing the life of the Emir Ifhkhar-ed-Daulah and some thousands of the most distinguished Egyptians, who, under French escort, were sent off to Ascalon the day after the conquests. Honor to the humane and unprejudiced Frenchman! Sixty thousand Saracen corpses strewed the streets and dwellings of the city, while the triumphant warriors, throwing aside their blood-stained armor, proceeded bare-headed and bare-footed to the Holy Sepulchre, where Peter the Hermit headed the immense procession, and was with rapture received by the monks and Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, to whom he four years before had promised the armed deliverance of that sacred spot. Thus the city, which just before had resounded in every part with the wild shrieks of the slaughtered, was now filled with prayers and hymns to the honor and glory of God. Godfrey of Bouillon was soon afterwards elected king of Jerusalem, and the brilliant battle near Ascalon, against 140,000 Egyptians and Moors from the Arabian and African coasts, at once secured the Syrian conquest to the Christian arms. The greater part of the crusaders, however, returned to Europe, and the death of King Godfrey, in the midst of his organizations, in August, 1100, was an irreparable loss to the new kingdom, though his able brother, Baldwin, Count of Edessa, soon grasped the reins of government with a strong and steady hand.

336. The principal kingdoms, feudal principalities, and settlements which, during the first crusade and in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were formed by the

Franks in Syria, Cilicia, Greece, on Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, and the islands of the Ægean, were thirteen in number. I. The Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, with its feudal dependencies; II. The Principality of *Antioch*; III. The County of *Tripolis*; and IV. that of *Edessa*; V. The Kingdom of *Armenia*; VI. The Kingdom of *Cyprus*; VII. The *Latin* Empire of *Romania* (Constantinople); VIII. The Kingdom of *Saloniki*; IX. The Duchy of *Athens* and *Bœotia*; X. The Principality of the *Morea* (Achaia); XI. The Conquests of the *Venetians*; XII. The Duchy of the *Archipelago* (Naxos); and XIII. The Military Republic of the *Order of Saint John of Jerusalem*; We shall here give a short description of these ephemeral, but, in an historical view, highly interesting states, the materials for which were mostly gathered during our residence in the East; and we shall likewise give an account of the most important historical monuments of that age, many of which still exist.[143]

I. The Kingdom of Jerusalem.

337. Limits, Feudal Division, Cities and Castles.—The suzerainty of the king of Jerusalem, as lord-paramount, was recognized by the three great feudatories of Syria, yet these princes enjoyed an almost entire independence in their states of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripolis. The frontiers of the Latin settlements in Syria extended, at the death of King Bald-

[143] In our fifth map, which presents the state of the world at the time of the crusades, the *minium*, or red-lead color, indicates the farthest extent of the Seldjukian conquests in Asia Minor, and of the subsequent empire of Salah-ed-Din, the Ejubide. The territories of the crusaders, on the contrary, are colored *yellow*; but we have not given that color to Constantinople, because it was reconquered from the Franks by the Greeks (1261), before the close of the crusades. Cyprus has its own *brown* color, forming an independent kingdom. Several important places in Syria and Palestine could not be given on the map, on account of the narrow space; the historical student will, however, find them all on the maps accompanying Prof. Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, Vols. II. and III.

win II., the time of their highest prosperity in 1131, from Malatia (Melitene), in Armenia on the north, southward to Ailah, on the shores of the Red Sea and the great Arabian desert—a distance of five hundred and fifty miles, while the breadth west from Tarsus, in Cilicia eastward to the castle of *Senerak*, near Diarbekr, in Mesopotamia, was three hundred and forty miles. Yet more south the frontier did not extend farther than the ridge of the Anti-Lebanon, a distance of only thirty-five miles from the shores of the Mediterranean. The entire coast from Tarsus to the borders of Egypt, had been occupied by the crusaders after the reduction of the maritime cities of *Laodicea*, *Tripolis*, *Tyre*, *Acre*, and *Ascalon*. In this arduous undertaking the pilgrims were powerfully supported by the fleets of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, and even by those of Flemish and Scandinavian crusaders. Yet, so long and narrow a strip of land was very difficult to defend, because the Saracens were still lodged in several impregnable strongholds within the frontiers, and the terrible Assassin fanatics (361) soon succeeded in fixing themselves permanently on Mount Lebanon, and even on the rocky coast of the Mediterranean, in the very heart of the Christian territory. Farther in the interior, the States of *Halep*, *Hamah*, and *Damascus* remained in the hands of the Mohammedans, who, at any time, might burst forth from their sure retreat on the outskirts of the desert, and with their myriads assault any exposed point of the weakened Christian kingdom. But most fortunately the many petty dynasties that had sprung up among the Seldjukian Turks and their allies after the death of Sultan Malek-Shah were still fighting against one another, and they thus gave the Christians the respite of a few years of comparative peace and prosperity.

338. I. THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM PROPER extended from the frontiers of Egypt on the south, northward to the Dog-River—*Nahr-el-Kelb*—near Beirut, and embraced the principality of *Galilee* together with a number of viscounties, baro-

nies, and smaller seigniories, whose feudal owners, when gathered under the royal banner of Jerusalem, with their vassals and the contingents of the maritime cities, formed an efficient army of 10,000 horse and foot.

The city of JERUSALEM—*el-Kuds* (the Holy), or, *Beit el-Mukkadas* (the Sanctuary)—was the capital of the new Christian kingdom. In its high and strong position, protected on the east by the deep valley of *Jehoshaphat*, on the south by that of *Ben-Hinnom*, and on the west by the somewhat more shallow valley of *Gihon*, and the castle of *David*,[144] it could only be attacked with success from the more level approach on the north. There, throughout the olive-grove, the Christians had pitched their camps of diverse nations, Normans, Lorrainers, and Germans, who extended all westward round the city to the castle of David and Mount Zion, on which Count Raymond of Toulouse and his French had raised their towers, and whence they directed their attack. Godfrey of Bouillon stormed and gained the northeastern corner tower of the city wall, overhanging the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Christians then penetrated by the neighboring gate of Saint Stephen. After the conquest, and the establishment of the new kingdom, in 1099, Jerusalem remained the seat and centre of the Latin government, under eight kings, who followed Godfrey of Bouillon on the throne of that pigmy state,[145] during eighty-eight

[144] The castle of David, which during the middle ages is mentioned under the name of the *Castle of the Pisans*, is the ancient tower of Herodes the Great, of Roman construction and great strength. For its accurate description, see Prof. E. Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I., pages 453–58. The mediæval walls and gates of Jerusalem are described, Vol. I., pages 384–88 and 467–78; the Temple area, pages 415–52; and interesting details on the history of the city during the age of the crusades, are found in Vol. II., pages 43–62.

[145] The successors of Godfrey were: *Baldwin I.* of Edessa, his brother, 1100–1118; *Baldwin II.*, of Burgh, his cousin, 1118–1131; *Fulco*, of Anjou (and Melissenda), 1131–1142; *Baldwin III.*, their son, 1142–1162; *Amalric* (Amaury), 1162–1173; *Baldwin IV.*, 1173–1183; *Baldwin V.*, the Child, 1183–1186; *Guy* (Guido), of Lusignan, (and Sibylla)

years, until October, 1187, when the city was again wrested from the hands of the Christians by Salah-ed-Din, the great Sultan of Damascus and Egypt. Five years later, during the third crusade of Philip August and Richard Cœur-de-Lion, in 1192, when Jerusalem was threatened with another siege by the victorious king of England, the Sultan made the greatest exertions in strengthening its fortifications by massy walls and bulwarks, and deep trenches cut out in the living rock on the northeast side, where they can still be seen at the present day.[146] The Lion-Heart, however, did not come; he returned to Europe in 1192, and Salah-ed-Din died shortly afterwards in Damascus. The gigantic fortifications of Jerusalem were again demolished by Sultan Melek of Damascus, in 1219. Yet, the Christians, having unexpectedly obtained the restitution of the Holy City and the greater part of Palestine, in 1228—not by the prowess of their arms, but by the friendship of Sultan Khamil for his gossip the German emperor—they joyfully began anew to build up the walls and to strengthen the more exposed parts of the city. Frederic II. could not consolidate the tottering throne of Jerusalem; he was suddenly recalled to Europe by the hostile aggression of the Pope; the dissensions between the Teutonic knights, then the guard-

1186–1192, when the kings, after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, resided in *Acre*, or in the island of Cyprus.

[146] The Turkish engineers and sappers from Mossoul labored for six months in constructing defences and raising new lines of walls. Several thousand Christian prisoners of war were forced to toil along with them. Immense bastions were built on the weaker side of the city, toward the gate of Abraham, the present *Yafa*, or *Pilgrims'* gate. The active sultan rode about, carrying stones on his saddle-bow; and his valiant brother, Malék-Adél, the emirs, the cadis, and even the sofis and priests themselves, vied in enthusiasm, handling the spade and the pick-axe, in order to encourage the thousands of Moslemin who hurried from the Euphrates to fortify and defend the *third great Sanctuary* of their faith. Richard would have had a hard work if he had come on! The Arab geographer, Mejr-ed-Din (by Von Hammer) gives some curious details. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Wien, 1812, Vol. II. pages 118–142.

ians of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, brought all into confusion again; and thus the Saracen Emir, Nassir-Daud of Kerak, succeeded, by a sudden attack, in surprising the city. Jerusalem was now, for the third time, taken by the Moslems; the defending knights were cut to pieces; and walls, towers, and monuments levelled to the ground. The Christian affairs in Syria were in great disorder, when, in 1243, a new and more terrible storm approached from the East: the irruption of the Khowaresmians (276). The Ejubid sultan, As-Saleh-Nedjmed, of Egypt, himself made a treaty with the Christians and offered them the sacred city for the common defence, and as a bulwark for Egypt. Monks and knights, merchants and mariners, then hurried from Acre to Jerusalem, to fortify it in haste, and make a stand—but all in vain—the wild Khowaresmian hordes, after their defeat by the Mongols, and maddened to despair, had already crossed the Euphrates; they burst upon Jerusalem, where, in 1244, Christians and Saracens alike perished beneath their swords in a general massacre; the Holy Sepulchre was sacked and burnt; and, though those fanatics afterwards dispersed and disappeared, Jerusalem has remained ever since in the power of the infidels.

339. The great mosque—*Kubbet-es-Sukhrah* (Dome of the Rock)—built by the caliph Omar, in 638, on the site of the ancient Jewish temple, was converted by the crusaders into a magnificent Christian church in 1099, and richly endowed with chapters of canons, territories, and all the immunities of the cathedrals in Western Europe. Farther south, on the Temple area, stood the large and beautiful Church of Saint Mary, erected by the Emperor Justinian I. in the sixth century, which by the Saracens had been converted into the highly revered mosque *al-Aksa* (*i. e.*, the distant from Mecca). During the Christian rule this building was occupied by the kings of Jerusalem, and called the Royal Palace, or the *Temple of Solomon.* Baldwin II. assigned the part of it lying toward the city as a convent for the new order of religious knights,

who, at that time, by their extraordinary bravery, began to excite the admiration of the world. It was from this building that these monk-warriors took their name, *Fratres militiæ Templi*, or Knights Templars. There, on the great platform of Mount Moriah, the modest brethren in Christ established their convent, their armory, and stables for a thousand horses; and from thence they sallied forth to gain not only laurels or martyrdom from the infidels, but that political and material influence which, in a few years, raised the Knights of the Temple to one of the most powerful and wealthy orders in Europe. Yet, after their defeat at *Kūrūn el-Hattin*, and the surrender of Jerusalem in 1187, the Sultan and his Mamlukes re-entered the *Haram*, or sacred inclosure, with pomp and rejoicings, purified the sanctuaries with precious rose-water from Damascus, raised with triumph the crescent and emblems of the Mohammedan faith, and destroyed the Christian palaces and convents so effectually, that nothing at the present day appears on the extensive area of the Temple save the ancient Saracenic mosques and chapels with their porticos, tanks, and surrounding orange and cypress groves. This, too, was the fate of nearly every church and convent built in the city or in the environs by the crusaders—most of them have disappeared without leaving a trace to indicate their site. Among the few monuments partially preserved is the *Holy Sepulchre* itself, which was erected by them in the form of a stately church in the Gothic style, inclosing the whole of the sacred precincts of Calvary and Golgotha. The façade fronting the south was ornamented with marble pillars, and flanked by high towers, which later have been broken off by the Saracens. Inside of the portals stood the sepulchres of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I. with their plain inscriptions.[147]

[147] The tombs of the two great crusaders were broken open and their ashes dispersed by the Khowaresmians in 1244.

The inscription on that of Baldwin runs thus:

Rex Balduinus, Judas alter Machabæus,
Spes patriæ, vigor ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque,

Opposite to the Church of the Resurrection are seen the ruins of another important establishment of mediæval Jerusalem, *Hospitium Sancti Iohanni*, or the convent of the Knights Hospitallers, who, in piety and bravery vied with the Templars themselves. Hospitals for sick and disabled pilgrims, under the care of devoted monks, had existed in Palestine and Egypt centuries before the crusades. The merchants of Amalfi (270) had established a convent of Benedictines of Santa Maria Latina, opposite the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, to which was, later, joined a nunnery of Mary Magdalen and a hospital of St. John, the almoner of Alexandria. There sick pilgrims of all nations and creeds were received, and, being healed, most liberally dismissed; and this truly Christian establishment had already acquired so great reputation, that Godfrey of Bouillon, after the conquest in 1099, endowed the Hospital of Saint John with lands and regular revenues. Yet it was not until twelve years after the foundation of the military order of the Templars, that the Monks Hospitallers, changing their patron of Alexandria for the Baptist, resolved to imitate the example of the Knights of the Red Cross, and to arm in defence of the faith. It was the valor, devotion, and even the noble emulation of the two military orders (to which, during the third crusade was joined a third, that of the

Quem formidabant, cui dona et tributa ferebant,
Cedar et Aegyptus, Dan ac homicida Damascus,
Pro dolor, in modico hoc clauditur tumulo!

The other Latin inscriptions had already become illegible toward the close of the sixteenth century; they were afterwards daubed over with plaster by the Greek monks, in order to conceal every historical proof of the pretensions of the Latins. The contest between Greeks and Latins about the supremacy of the Holy Sepulchre is still pending, and has again become the great political question of the day. In the Latin sacristy of the sepulchre the author of this work saw, in 1844, the sword and spurs of Godfrey of Bouillon, which are exhibited to the travellers and pilgrims by the monks. The heavy broadsword may be genuine, but the long, brazen spurs, with *rowels*, seem to be from a later period, perhaps from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Teutonic or German Knights of Saint Mary), which mainly contributed to maintain and extend the Latin conquests in the Levant, while they likewise laid the foundation of all the numerous orders of chivalry in Spain (318), France, England, Germany, and Denmark, which sprung up and flourished in a subsequent period. The massive buildings of the hospital now lie in ruins. The spacious court is occupied by a Mohammedan tannery—*el-debaghah.* From the upper platform the pilgrim still looks down into the vaulted refectory, hall, and church, of the once so powerful Hospitallers. The roof has become a kitchen-garden, from which the view over Jerusalem, the Haram with its mosques, and the distant Mount of Olives, is of surpassing beauty. The Teutonic order possessed likewise a convent in the city called *das Deutsche Haus*, but no trace of it is left. It was principally during the crusade of the emperor Frederic II. in 1228 and 1229, that the German knights, formerly so disdainfully treated by the other orders, obtained some influence in the affairs of Palestine.

The interior of Jerusalem with its bazaars, vaulted streets, tanks, baths, and gloomy, castellated dwellings, had then no doubt the same general appearance as now, and even the streets have preserved the same direction.[148]

340. The environs of Jerusalem present likewise some me-

[148] The principal street—*la rue de David*—ran then, as it does now, from the tower of David near the Yafa gate, on the west, eastward through the lower city to the Temple area. *La rue au Patriarche*, started off northward to the Patriarchate and the Holy Sepulchre; farther east ran, in the same northern direction, parallel with the former, the *Rua Palmariorum* (the present Bazaar-street), where palm-branches were sold to the returning pilgrims. There were *la rue du Sepulchre, de Mont Zion, des Herbes, du Temple, de Saint Etienne, la rue couverte le Masquimat, la rue aux Alemans, de Jehosaphat, de l'Arc Judas*, and others, some of which can still be recognized. The Latin gold and silver smiths, the butchers, and every profession, had their own street and bazaar. See the mediæval description of the city, cited by Consul Schultz, in his Lecture on Jerusalem, Berlin, 1845, pages 107–120.

morials of the crusaders. At *Bethania*, on the eastern slope of Mount Olivet, a massy old tower near the sepulchral vault of Saint Lazarus seems to have belonged to the convent of Black Nuns of Saint Benedict, built A. D. 1132 by King Fulco at the request of his queen, Melissenda, for her sister, the princess Iveta, and of which the latter became abbess. At *el-Bireh*, north of Jerusalem, on the road to Nabulus, stand the ruins of a fine Latin church that belonged to the Knights Templars. At *Kolomieh*, on the route to Yafa and the sea-coast is a well preserved Christian church, now used as a stable for the horses of the robber-chief Abu-Gosh, who there ransoms the passing pilgrims. *Lydda* (Diospolis), on the plain of Sharon, with the gigantic ruins of the Church of Saint George, which was destroyed by Salah-ed-Din, in A. D. 1191, on the approach of King Richard the Lion-Hearted and the crusading army. On the east of Jerusalem, the tower at Jericho in the valley of Jordan, called by the pilgrims the *house of Zacchæus*, is a structure of that time, having been erected for the protection of the rich fields, palm-groves, and gardens, which were irrigated by the plentiful spring of Elisha—*Ain-es-Sultan*—near Jericho. The valley of the Jordan, like the environs of Tyre and Tripolis, were in the times of the crusaders planted with the sugar-cane; and near the ruins of Jericho are still seen extensive aqueducts and porticos with *pointed* arches, supposed to have been sugar-mills of the Saracens. The many magnificent convents mentioned by early pilgrims as having been situated on the banks of the Jordan, present now nothing but ruins and heaps of rubbish. East of Bethlehem lies the high, conical hill, called the *Mount of the Franks* (the ancient Herodion), where, according to tradition, the Christian knights still defended themselves several years after the loss of Acre, and at last succeeded in cutting their way with the sword to the coast.

341. The frontiers being exposed to the continual incursions of the Saracen light-horse, the crusaders took care to erect strong castles at convenient places on the border, which

were garrisoned by the bravest knights of the two military orders; thus, the southwestern frontier toward Egypt and the great desert Et-Tih, was protected by the castle of *Gaza*, the border-town which was held by the Knights Templars in 1152–1187, when it fell, after the bravest defence. Later, the Christians united to the Egyptian Saracens, lost here the great battle in 1244 against the Khowaresmian fanatics, which caused the prostration of the Frank dominions and the ultimate loss and desolation of Jerusalem. *Gibelin* (Beit-Gibrin), northeast of the former, the almost impregnable fortress of the Knights Hospitallers, was built in 1134 to control the roving Mohammedan bands from the still unconquered city of Ascalon. *Blanchegarde* or *Alba Specula* (Tell Safieh), northeast of Ascalon, was the scene of some of the romantic feats of Richard the Lion-Hearted, on his daring excursions in quest of adventures among the Saracen swarms. *Ascalon* itself, in a strong position on the coast, was one of the most important bulwarks of the kingdom from the time of its conquest by King Baldwin III. in 1153, until its retaking by Malék-Adél in 1187, and its total destruction by Salah-ed-Din in 1191. It was a splendid city with immense fortifications and an active and happy population, who were ruined by the crusading warfare; and even to this day the ruins and dreary solitude of Ascalon present the most mournful spectacle imagination can conceive. It was beneath the walls of Ascalon that Godfrey of Bouillon and the twenty thousand heroes of the first crusade, after the capture of Jerusalem, defeated with lance and sword the caliph of Egypt and his hundreds of thousands of Arabs and Moors, on the 12th of August, 1099, and thus secured their glorious conquest.

342. On the east the Arabian border was defended by the castle of *Ailah* (202), on the gulf of the Red Sea, by *Mons Regalis* (Schobek), north of Mount Hor and Petra in Wady Mousa, and the still stronger *Kerak* (Krak), on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, commanding the great caravan route from Damascus to Mecca in Arabia. The roving expeditions

of the faithless Reynald, Lord of Kerak, against the Mohammedan pilgrims—*hadjies*—during the truce, in 1186, gave a pretext to Salah-ed-Din, to invade Palestine and reconquer Jerusalem the following year.[149] *Yafa* (Joppe), on the coast west of Jerusalem, surrounded by magnificent orange-gardens, was the landing-place and emporium of the crusaders and their Italian auxiliaries, the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans. The seigniories of *Mirabel* and *Ibelin*, and the castles of *Maen*, *Habakuk*, and *Plain du Temple*, all situate on hills in the plain of Sharon, secured the passage of the thousands of pilgrims, male and female, who then continually wandered to the Holy Sepulchre or back to the coast. *Arsuf* (Arsur), on the rivulet of that name, north of Yafa, was the battle-field on which Richard of England, with the flower of the chivalry of England and France, on the 7th September, 1191, in one of the most tremendous battles on record, routed and defeated his great antagonist, Salah-ed-Din and his Mamlukes. *Ajalon*, on Mount Ephraim, in the interior, from which Richard mournfully contemplated the distant Jerusalem, which the talent and power of Salah-ed-Din and the treachery of his French auxiliaries did not permit him to approach. It was then that he concluded the treaty with the Sultan, and returned to Europe in 1192. County and city of *Neapolis*—*Napulus*, *Naplus* (the ancient Sichem), north of Jerusalem, in a beautiful valley, covered with olive plantations and orange gardens, between Mounts Garizim and Ebal, was the seat of several councils and feudal assemblies of the feudatories during this period. Magnificent ruins of the cathedral of Saint Peter are still standing. The barony of *Caesarea*, the seigniories of *Daron* and *Chaipha*, at the foot of Mount Carmel, were important possessions on the coast. *Atlith*, or the Castle of the Pilgrims, south of Mount Carmel, was the last refuge of the

[149] An interesting description of Kerak is found in Lieutenant Lynch's Exploring Expedition on the Dead Sea. The glittering white walls of Kerak can be plainly distinguished across the sea from the western heights of Bethlehem, at a distance of more than fifty miles.

Christians in Palestine, from which they in May 1291 departed for Cyprus. The viscounty of *Ptolemais*, Accon, or Saint Jean d'Acre, with the beautiful and strong city on the large bay north of Mount Carmel, became, during the years 1189–1191, the grand theatre for all the astounding events of the third crusade. After the surrender of the city to Richard it became the capital of the kingdom and the emporium of eastern traffic. With its triple range of impregnable walls, its deep and broad moats, fortified barbicans and drawbridges, its inner and outer harbor secured by battlemented moles and the celebrated *Fly-tower*, Acre was the last stronghold of Christianity and European civilization in the East. Stately cathedrals and convents, royal palaces, and commercial bazaars, all glittering with the luxuries and riches of the Levant, filled the interior. The devoted Knights Templars had on the coast their fortified *Temple* and palace, the Knights of Saint John their magnificent *Hospital*, still to this day, among heaps of ruins, the best preserved building of the city. Every quarter (barrio) was fortified by ranges of walls; Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, Lombards, French, English, and Germans, possessed their own wards, tribunals, and storehouses. The luxury and ostentation of the court, chivalry, clergy, and commercial republicans almost passed belief. Silken curtains and canopies were on cords drawn across the bazaars and streets to protect the grand prelates, the Venetian merchants, and Frank cavaliers from the scorching rays of the sun, while marble fountains, rich gardens, and shady groves scented with orange-blossoms and adorned with beautiful flowers and shrubbery, were distributed in various parts of the city to compensate the citizens for the delightful environs of Mount Carmel, which were rendered insecure by the continual incursions of the Mamlukes. To preserve this important city had become the great political aim of the European nations during the latter half of the thirteenth century. Yet the Mamluke sultans of Egypt, then ruling throughout the East, had resolved its destruction, and, in spite of the immense exertions of Saint Louis in his Egyptian expedition,

and all the enthusiasm and devotion of the Orders of the Temple and Hospital, Sultan Ashraf Khalil and his myriads carried the city on the 20th of May, 1291, and by the massacre of thousands of Christians and the total destruction of Acre put an end to the crusades in the East.

343. The Principality of GALILEE, or of *Tiberias*, had been granted by Godfrey of Bouillon to the faithful and generous Tancred, the Norman. That fertile province extended from Mount Carmel through the plain of *Esdrælon*—Jezrael—eastward to the Jordan and the lake of Genezareth. The access from the Jordan was protected by the barony of Beisan (Scythopolis) with the large castle of *Belvoir*—Belvedere—(Kaukab), belonging to the Knights Hospitallers, who defended it for many years with their wonted bravery. Other places of strength were the castles of *Sanur* and *Genin*, in strong positions in the defiles of the mountains of Samaria. *Fulah* (Faba), *Forbelet*, *Buria*, and the large fortress on the summit of Mount *Tabor*, were all castles of the Knights Templars protecting the plain of Esdrælon and the caravan road from Jerusalem to Damascus by the bridge of Jacob. *Nazareth*, the small industrious Christian city in its beautiful valley, was, on the 1st of May, 1187, an eye-witness to the terrible combat near the barn-floor of *Mahel*, where a small body of Knights Templars and Hospitallers, led on by their Grand-Masters, with heroical fortitude withstood the thousands of Mamlukes swarming around them; they all perished, overwhelmed, but not vanquished. This chivalrous battle was only the prelude to the still more tragical events which followed. *Sepphoris* (Sefurieh), on a copious spring in the delightful valley el-Buttauf, six miles north of Nazareth, where, a month later, the whole feudal strength of the kingdom, twelve hundred mail-clad knights and fifteen thousand sergeants and archers, assembled. But King Guy of Lusignan, and the Grand-Master of the Temple, Thierry of Ridderford, disregarding the prudent advice of Count Raymond of Tiberias, to await the Sultan in that advantageous position, ordered the march across the

barren ridge of Tell-Hattin, where, next day, they were surrounded by the hundred thousands of Salah-ed-Din. The battle was fought near Allubiah (Lubieh), between the peaks of Hattin (Kürün-el-Hattin), two miles west of the city of Tiberias. There, on the 9th of June, Salah-ed-Din totally destroyed or captured the forces of the Christian kingdom. Nearly all the knights of the military orders perished either on the battlefield or were slaughtered in cold blood before the tent of the Sultan; the same fate awaited the perfidious Raynald of Chatillon, the lord of Kerak. The captivity of King Guy of Lusignan and thousands of his feudatories and vassals; the rapid invasion of unprotected Palestine, where burning towns and convents and mouldering corpses marked the advance of the Mamlukes; the surrender of Acre, Jerusalem, Ascalon, Gaza, and nearly all the cities on the coast and the castles in the interior, proclaimed the downfall of the Christian power in the East, which even the efforts of Barbarossa and Richard the Lion-Hearted were unable to restore.

344. The northern frontiers were likewise defended by numerous fortresses confided to the knights of the two military orders. *Safed*, on the high range of mountains northwest of the lake of Tiberias, was then a splendid castle in the possession of the Knights Templars. They defended it heroically against all the forces of the Sultan after the disastrous battle of El-Hattin and the surrender of Shobek and Kerak in 1188. But it was demolished by Sultan Melek of Damascus in 1220, like the walls of Jerusalem, Banias, and Tibnin, for fear of the announced crusade of the Emperor Frederic II. at the head of all Christendom. Though rebuilt by the Templars and gallantly defended, it was stormed and taken in 1266 by Sultan Bibars of Egypt, and its two thousand warriors were, after the surrender, butchered in cold blood. Other castles celebrated in the crusades were those on the *Jacob's ford* of the Jordan and of *Banias* (Paneas, Cæsarea Philippi), at the head springs of Jordan, defending the valley and the defiles of

Mount Hermon against Damascus. *Toron* (Tibnin), west of Banias, protected Tyre and the sea-coast, and *Beaufort*, Belfort (es-Shukif), high on Mount Lebanon, overhanging the river Litany (Leontes), the defile of Coele-Syria, and Ba'albek. The latter fortress is of Roman origin. After the defeat of the crusaders at Banias in 1179, the Christian army found refuge in the castle of Belfort. Salah-ed-Din besieged it in 1189, and could only reduce it after immense exertions and sacrifices. The seigniories of *Montfort*, *Baffa* and *Scandelion*, were situated north of Acre, protecting with their castles and garrisons the mountain defiles along the coast, the *Tyrian Ladder*, or *Ras el-Abiad* (Leucum promontorium), and *Tyre*, then a large, wealthy and commercial city, strongly fortified and inhabited by thousands of Italian, French, and Flemish merchants and mariners. The sugar-cane was cultivated in the plain of Tyre, as it was at Jericho, on the Jordan. The barony of *Saïsette* (Sidon), with the maritime port and emporium of Sidon; the strong fortress of *Franche-Garde*, built by Saint Louis after his defeat and surrender in Egypt in 1248, and *Beïrut*, in its charming position at the base of Mount Lebanon, took all an important part in the stirring events of the crusades, and are mentioned on every page of the chronicles of the time.

345. II. The County of Tripolis, the sovereignty of the brave old Raymond of Toulouse, ran along Mount Lebanon to the Nahr-Ioba on the north, and embraced the charming Buka'a, or the valley of Ba'albek, which, however, the Christians did not cultivate with care on account of the perpetual inroads of the Saracen horsemen from Damascus, who carried off the cattle and inhabitants. This exposed territory was defended by several celebrated castles, such as *Hissr ol Akrad* (the Koord-Castle), *Mons Ferrandus*, *Mons Pelegrinum*, *Hissr Sandshil*, and many others. *Tripolis* (Tarabolos), *Tortosa*, *Botrion* and *Byblus* (Gibail), were maritime towns with an active commerce and export of the rich products of Syria.

The southern parts of the county, from the Nahr-el-Kelb to the Nahr-el-Kebir, were already at that time inhabited by the Christian sect of the *Maronites*, so called from their patron saint, Mar Maron, of the sixth century. They retained the opinions of the early Monothelite heretics, with some modifications, until the twelfth century, when, abandoning the doctrines of the *one will* in Christ, they were admitted to the communion of the Roman church in 1182, and remained faithful adherents of the Pope down to the present day. Their language was Syriac; they dwelt in open villages on Mount Lebanon, where the great convent *Kanobin*, in the valley behind Tripolis, was the see of their patriarch. In their numerous monasteries and hermitages, on the rocky eminences of the mountain, they most rigidly observed the discipline of Saint Anthony. Their priests were formerly allowed to marry, and all lived peacefully in the bosoms of their virtuous families under a rustic roof, where the pilgrim met with a hearty and hospitable reception.[150] The last count of Tripolis was Raymond III., who escaped

[150] Other Christian sects on Mount Lebanon were the *Suriani* or Syrians, the ancient inhabitants, or rather a mixture of Romans, Greeks, and Saracens; they had still retained many Mohammedan rites in their Greek liturgy. The *Nestorians* believed in *two natures* in Christ, and had only three sacraments; their priests were married. The *Jacobites* venerated Mary and the saints, but they believed only in *one nature* in Christ; they circumcised the children of *both sexes*, and gave them a *fire-baptism*. Among the heretical Mohammedan sects of Mount Lebanon were the *Ismaelites* (279, 361) and the *Druses*, the most remarkable. The latter appeared in the eleventh century, seventy years before the crusades, as followers of Hakim Beamrillah, the Fatimid caliph of Egypt, who proclaimed himself to be an incarnation of the Divinity, and established the sacred lodge or hall of wisdom in Cairo (280). They believe in the transmigration of souls, and in a ridiculous mixture of Christian and Mohammedan traditions; they are likewise accused of licentious orgies in their secret meetings. They are a handsome people, and they observe a strict outward decorum. The Druses are hardly mentioned by the historians of the crusades. The tradition about their origin from Count *Drusus* (Dreux), who was said to have occupied the Frank Mountain, and settled afterwards on Mount Lebanon with a colony of crusaders, is decidedly fabulous.

from the defeat at el-Hattin, but died of grief immediately after his return in 1187. Kelawun, the sultan of the Baharite Mamlukes of Egypt, conquered the county and expelled the crusaders in 1288.

346. III. The PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH, the second Latin settlement in Syria, had been founded by Bohemund, the Norman prince of Taranto, the son of Robert Guiscard, immediately after the siege and conquest of the city of Antioch, in 1098. It extended from the Nahr-el-Melk on the south to the Syrian defiles of Mount Amanus on the North, and bordered eastward on the county of Edessa and the Euphrates at *Mambedsh*. Numerous castles defended the eastern frontier toward the Mohammedan states of Halep and Damascus; these were *Bira*, *Al-Sared* (Sarepta), *Artasia*, *Harem* (Hareng), *Mesrin*, *Rugia*, *Albara*, *Marra*, *Chabarda*, *Apamea*, *Cafartab*, and *Shaizar* (Larissa). Antioch was separated from the county of Tripolis by the castles and strongholds of the fanatic Mohammedan sect of the Ismaelites or Assassins, who, under the sway of the mysterious chief, *the Old Man of the Mountain*, extended from Lamsir on the shores of Caspian, across the Koordistan Mountains by Diarbekr and Mardin to the northern slope of Mount Lebanon and the Mediterranean between Nahr-el-Melk and Nahr-el-Ioba. The river *Orontes* has its origin in the upper valley of Ba'albek, and running north turns suddenly west; it then receives the water of the beautiful lake of *Ofrenus*, and discharges itself ten miles west of Antioch in the Mediterranean, beneath the projecting promontory of Mount Orontes. There is still a small port or fishing village on the site of the formerly so opulent city of Seleucia.

ANTIOCH, once greater and richer than Rome and Constantinople themselves (12), was still a magnificent city with a large and industrious population. On the approach of the crusading army in 1097, the city was held by Baghi-Sejan, the lieutenant of Sultan Borkeiarok, with 37,000 troops, but thousands of Christian citizens had been ordered to leave their homes. The

valley of the Orontes is bounded on the north by the fertile range of *Cara Dagh*, or Black Mountains—entirely covered with vineyards and olive-groves—and south by the precipitous rocks of Mount Cassius, the last spur of Mount Lebanon on the north. It rises to a height of more than one thousand feet, and is divided by a deep dell, from which a wild torrent foaming and chafing, traverses the city in its breadth, and flows into the Orontes. The view from this summit is magnificent; on it lies the impregnable citadel, which is only approachable by a narrow path beneath the walls running up the flanks of its western side. The wall crowning the summit of these high peaks is the gigantic work of Justinian (262), though it is based on still larger constructions of the ancient Romans. These double ranges of fortifications were sixty feet high, and inclosed the entire city; on the north they were washed by the Orontes. A fortified stone bridge crossed the river, on which the hardest battles between Christians and Saracens were fought. The former built the castle *Maregard* on the east, the *Bridge Castle* on the north, and the *Tancred's Castle* on the west, to cut off the communication with Damascus and Halep. By the treachery of Emir Feir (Phirous), an Armenian cuirass-maker, a tower called *the Sisters*, on the west side, was surrendered to Bohemund, who, with his daring Normans scaled the walls on the night of June 1st, 1098, and thus saved the army of the crusaders, The great battle with Korboga of Mossoul was fought twenty days later on the plain north of the city, and terminated with the total defeat of the Moslemin. The principality of Antioch was successively ruled by nine princes of the family of Bohemund; it was temporarily in the hands of the Greek emperors, but was captured after a sanguinary siege, in 1268, by the Mamluke Sultan, Bibars I. Bendocdar, who drove the Christians down to the sea-coast, and circumscribed their dominion to Acre, Tyre, Beirut, and Tripolis. The fierce Mamluke did not stop with the slaughter or captivity of one hundred thousand Christians; he ordered the demolition of Antioch, which was executed with wanton cruelty. Thus, the

huge masses of ruined walls crowning the mountain tops, debris of churches and palaces here and there looking out from the vineyards and olive-groves, and a miserable Turkish village on the Orontes, are the only relics of the once celebrated Antioch.[161] *Seleucia* (Sowaida), at the mouth of the Orontes, and *Scanderoon* (Alexandretta), northward on the coast, and separated from Antioch by the celebrated defile, *Beilan Boghas*, were considered as the ports of the capital. *Laodicæa* (Latakieh) and *Gabala* (Gibel), south, on the coast; the former was for a length of time occupied by the Greeks. *Doluk*, *Aintab*, *Ravendel*, and *Dowair*, were fortified towns in the interior.

347. IV. The County of Edessa (13), in the ancient Mesopotamia—Al-Djezirah of the Arabs (205), was the first state in Asia formed by the crusaders in 1097. The Christian inhabitants of Edessa did homage to Count Baldwin of Boulogne on his approach. Several Turkish chiefs in the neighborhood sold their territories to him; others were conquered, and thus this active and daring prince succeeded in extending his principality, with the important cities of *Malatia* (Melitene) *Samosata* and *Kart-Birt* in the north; *Severak*, *Hamlin* and *Harran* in the east, and *Mambedsh* and *Shabactun* in the south. *Edessa* (Roha, Orfah), in a strong position with immense walls and an industrious population, was the capital of the county and the bulwark of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Warriors so able and powerful as the first Count Baldwin of Boulogne and his successor, Baldwin of Burg, defended the county most brilliantly against the efforts of the disunited

[161] It would be difficult to describe the melancholy impression which is excited in the bosom of the traveller at the sight of the desolate ruins of Antioch! Damascus, with its immense population and its splendid bazaars; Jerusalem, with its churches, convents, and pilgrims; even Sidon, Beïrut, Tripolis, and Tarsus, with their commercial life and activity, their ports and shipping, present still moving pictures of oriental manners and prosperity, while the squalid misery of the villagers of the present Andakieh stands in mournful contrast to the unrivalled beauty of the natural scenery around them.

Turkish sultans of Mossoul and Halep. But when those chiefs had successively been called to the throne of Jerusalem; when the vigilant Count Joscelin of Courtenay had died in 1131, and his dissipated son, Joscelin II., dallied away his time in Tell Basher with wine and women, new dangers began to threaten this exposed border province. Zenghi, the celebrated attabek of Mossoul (331) appeared suddenly with a large army before Edessa in 1144, during the absence of the count, captured the city by treachery, and drove the Franks from all their possessions on the left bank of the Euphrates. With the greatest exertions they were only able to defend *Germanica*, *Rumkala*, the important *Tell Basher* (Turbassel), *Nezib*, and some other castles on the west of that river. The untoward news of these disgraceful events in Europe caused the French king and German emperor to undertake the unsuccessful second great crusade in the years 1147–48.

348. Constitution of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the assembly of the great feudatories held by King Godfrey at Jerusalem, in January, 1100, the constitution of the new kingdom was laid down in the code, or as it was called, the *Assize of Jerusalem*, one of the most precious documents of the feudal legislation of the middle ages. The knights and other crusaders who had taken possession of Syria, were natives of the most different countries of Europe:—of France, Italy, England, and Lorraine. None of them could claim his native laws as the groundwork for the new constitution of the conquered lands: it was therefore to be established according to the general leading principles of the feudal system in Europe and to the urgent necessity of the moment. Thus, the component political bodies in Jerusalem consisted of the feudal nobility, the hierarchy, and the corporations of the free burgesses, not yet recognized in Europe as a third estate. The first two were then engaged in a fierce contest of life and death, while the latter had just sprung into existence at the expense of the former during their struggle. From the combination of these heterogeneous elements then, arose the kingdom of Jerusalem,

that ideal mediæval state, the very caricature of a political organization of the eleventh century, in which we find on the one hand the most suspicious restriction of royal power, and on the other all the abuses of feudal independence. Jerusalem, according to the Assize, was an indivisible kingdom, hereditary in the male and female lines. When extinct, the election of the successor to the crown belonged to the high clergy and the barons. The king was crowned by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and was obliged to swear to the constitution. The crown lands formed only a single barony for the support of the king, who was thus doomed to remain the poorest monarch in Christendom. The great principalities of Edessa, Antioch, and later of Tripolis likewise, were considered as baronies, and their princely owners formed the first secular estate of the kingdom, their vassals the second, and their rear-vassals or valvasours the third. Yet not only the three princes, but all the barons and the prelates enjoyed the regalia: the right of coinage, and of feudal warfare: they presided in their own feudal courts over their vassals, in the same manner as the king in his supreme court over the barons; like the king, they had their own viscount as judge of the municipal courts in the cities. The fiefs were hereditary, and minute regulations were laid down respecting succession, cessions, guardianships, and the like. Different again from the baronies were the knights' fiefs of the crown lands, which the king distributed as a baron to brave warriors with military tenure; they ranked only with the rear-vassals of the princes, and depended solely on the crown. There was a high court—*haute cour*—in which the king sat as president over the great vassals, and another for the burgesses—*cour des borgés*. The members of the first were knights—and the jurymen of the latter respectable citizens. For the native *Syrians* there existed a Syrian tribunal, and the cities enjoyed extensive privileges; but they remained mostly in the possession of the republics of Pisa, Amalfi, Genoa, and Venice, who obtained entire quarters in the maritime town, where they built towers and fortified bazaars under their proper laws

and guardians. All these mail-clad merchants often thwarted or fought with one another, and constantly confounded piracy and commerce. The feudal military service under the crown was rendered by six hundred and sixty-six knights and two hundred knights under the banner of Tripolis and Antioch. Each knight was attended by four mounted squires in light armature, thus forming an array of three thousand five hundred lances. The cities and churches supplied five thousand sergeants or archers on foot; the commercial corporations of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice some five hundred more; and in this manner the regular militia of Palestine amounted to ten thousand troops; though this number could be doubled in cases of great danger. After having repressed the arrogance of the priesthood, Godfrey soon regulated the ecclesiastical affairs. The canonic law was introduced, and the entire conquered territory divided into dioceses with suffragan churches, numerous monasteries, convents, and pious institutes, all dependent on the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

The crusaders in Palestine attempted to engraft their own fantastical system on a soil where it never could grow; nay, they carried it to the highest pitch of exaggeration by the institution of religious orders of military monks; but they failed, and, enlightened by the experience of two centuries, their descendants gave up at last the vain contest, and brought more correct and enlightened views and ideas back to Europe, where a new period of political and religious emancipation began to dawn. The first conquest and colonization of Syria by the Latins had a brilliant appearance; but in spite of an extraordinary display of religious enthusiasm and military bravery, the new kingdom did not prosper; it suffered from an innate debility—a *gangrene*—at its very birth. That long and narrow strip of coast, with barren mountains interspersed with arid deserts or fertile plains, then almost entirely devastated and depopulated by war and famine, had become occupied by a number of proud, ignorant warriors, whose whole attention

was drawn off to the defence of the castles which they built for the security of their conquest; they were all equals; they defied obedience, and could only be reduced by the sword; the prelates were as warlike, and often more haughty and quarrelsome than the knights themselves; they peopled monasteries and convents with thousands of monks and nuns. While thus secular and ecclesiastical bigots formed the ruling classes, the native Syrians and Greeks were oppressed; their lands were occupied by the chivalrous aristocrats, and they were stripped of their commercial profit by the Venetian and Genoese republicans. What wonder, then, that they soon became hostile to their Latin masters and renewed their relations to the Greek emperors, and even to the Mohammedans themselves. But the young and rising generation, sprung forth from the union of the old crusaders with the native women of Syria—would not they contribute to the prosperity of their mother country? Oh no! Instead of inheriting the manly virtues of their fathers, they only combined the vices of the West with the cunning, the luxury, and selfishness of the East. They were the most contemptible race on the face of the earth. They were with scorn called *Poulani* (young mules), and they themselves, by their arrogance, treachery, and cowardice, were the main cause of the early decline and ultimate downfall of the Christian settlements in Palestine, by their thwarting all the noble and generous efforts of the succeeding crusaders, who in vain shed their blood for the salvation of Jerusalem.

V. The Kingdom of Armenia.

349. Extent, Dynasty, and Cities. The territory of Armenia Minor (25), which later formed the Byzantine themes of Lykandos and Seleukeia, and part of that of Kappadokia (266), between the river Halys, the Pontian Mountains, the Euphrates, Commagena, and the Issian Gulf, became, toward the close of the eleventh century, an independent state, whose kings, by the passage of the crusading armies and by their friendly relations to the princes of Antioch and Edessa, were enabled to

beat back the attacks of Greeks and Turks. Leo II. took, in 1099, the royal title. The principal strength of the state was concentred in Cilicia; yet it seems that it extended northward to the Black Sea at certain periods. About the middle of the thirteenth century the Armenian kings did homage to the Turkish sultan of Rum, and joined his banner with three hundred knights. They enjoyed the protection of the Mongols, but the last king, Leo VI., was captured by the Baharid Mamlukes of Egypt, who occupied the country until it in the fifteenth century came under the dominion of the Ottoman Turks. The Armenians were a laborious and religious people, but unwarlike and intemperate; they possessed great ability in arts and mechanics; their embroidery and silk weaving were celebrated; they recognized the supremacy of the Roman pope in the synod at Sis in 1307, though many of the ceremonies in the Armenian church were considered as heretical by the Romans. Their patriarch was called *Catholicus*, and wielded a mighty influence. The Armenian priests were married, and distinguished for their learning. Their literature is rich, though still unprinted. By the relations between the Armenians and the crusaders, the former soon adopted many European institutions. The court of the Armenian kings introduced Frankish costumes and titles, and a seneschal (*connétable*) commanded the army; the nobles were called barons, and every hill of Armenia was crowned with a castle. Yet commerce was their principal occupation, and their ports were constantly visited by the mercantile squadrons of Venice and Genoa.

Mamistra (Mopsvestia), on the river *Pyramus*, was the capital. *Anazarbus* (Anavarza), higher up on the same river. —*Adana* and *Tarsus*, in the beautiful plain of Cilicia. The rapid and deep *Calycadnus* (Seleph) formed the frontier toward the Turkish provinces. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was drowned while swimming his horse through that river on his march to Syria, in 1191. *Ajas*, by the Italians called Giazza, was the principal harbor of export. *Sis*, on Mount Amanus, the later capital, strongly fortified, was the patriarchal see. There the synod was held in 1307.

VI. The Kingdom of Cyprus.

350. Origin, Constitution, and Cities. Richard the Lion-Hearted conquered the island from the tyrant Isaac Comnenus, in 1191, and surrendered it to the Knights Templars. But the order being unable to overcome the hatred of the Greeks and their continual conspiracies, gave it back to Guy of Lusignan, whose descendants ruled the island for two centuries when Catherina Cornara brought it to Venice in 1486. Cyprus took an important part in the crusades; it served as a refuge for the Syrian Christians on the loss of Acre in 1291; and became afterwards the great naval station for Templars and Hospitallers, whence they directed all their expeditions to the Syrian coast. The constitution of the kingdom was an imitation of the assise of Jerusalem (346); the number of the barons was one hundred and twenty-seven; they formed the high council; the whole island was divided into twelve districts (*contade*). The kings established a particular order of knighthood *of the Sword*. The court language was French; the army consisted of the feudal chivalry and some bodies of light Albanian mercenaries. The native inhabitants are a fine race of men; the women are beautiful, and by the vivacity of their large dark eyes, seem to declare how faithful they still are to the worship of Venus. At the time of the crusades, the Cypriots were either, 1, Freemen or Eleutheri (ἐλεύθεροι), who paid half the income of their fields, and Perperii (περπέριοι), who paid fifteen *Perpers* (gold Byzants); and, 2, serfs or Pariks (παροῖκοι), who belonged as property to their masters. Agriculture and commerce were flourishing, but the latter mostly in the hands of the rapacious Genoese, who, from their fortified port, *Famagusta*, on the eastern coast, tyrannized both over the king and the people. The island produced the finest fruits, timber, wool, silk, cotton, oil, wine, sugar, grains, madder, honey, wax, corals, all sorts of minerals, copper, and excellent salt. Hyacinths, anemones, ranunculuses, and the single and double narcissus, grow here without cultivation;

they deck the mountains, and give the country the appearance of an immense flower-garden.

NICOSIA (Leucosia), north of Mount Olympus, in the centre of the island, on a magnificent site, was the capital and the seat of government; many ruins still attest its former splendor. *Constantia* (267), now in ruins. *Famagusta* and *Larnaca* were ports possessed by the Genoese. *Limisso* or Limasol (Amathus), on the southern coast, with the strong castle *Colosso*, belonged to the Order of the Hospital. On the western coast in a romantic scenery lay *Baffo* (Paphos), with the ruins of the temple of Venus and the castle *Dieu d'Amour*.

VII. LATIN EMPIRE OF ROMANIA.

351. THE FOURTH CRUSADE, CONQUEST OF BYZANTIUM. During the brilliant reign of Calo-Johannes and Manuel Comneni (1118–1180) the frontiers of the Greek Empire had again been extended to Mount Taurus and the plains of Cappadocia, the Turks in Asia Minor and the Petcheneges (254) on the Danube had been defeated, the Sicilian Normans beaten back from Greece, and the Empire strengthened. But the heartless adventurer, Andronicus Comnenus, who, after the most wonderful vicissitudes of fortune had swung himself from the prison on the throne, caused terrible revolutions in the interior, while the Bulgarians and Servians broke their chains and constituted independent kingdoms. The monster himself fell a victim to the popular fury in 1195. The family of the Angeli was raised to the throne, but Isaac was soon dethroned by his brother Alexius, while his son, another Alexius, fled to Europe and called to his aid the French and Venetian crusading army, then preparing in Venice for a new expedition to the East.[152]

[152] A. D. 1203. Arrival of the crusaders at Constantinople. They take possession of Galatá and encamp at Saint Cosmas, opposite the palace of Blachernæ.

A. D. 1204. Revolutions in the city. Flight of Alexius. Restora-

By the conquest of Constantinople the absolute Greek monarchy had been transformed into the feudal Empire of Romania. After the coronation of Baldwin of Flanders, the chiefs of the crusading army began to carry into execution the act of partition as arranged by the joint consent of the Franks and Venetians. But their ignorance of geography, and the resistance offered by the Greeks in Asia Minor, and by the Wallachians and Albanians in Europe, threw innumerable difficulties in the way of the proposed distribution of the fiefs. The emperor received for his portion only the city of *Constantinople*, with *Thrace* in Europe, the opposite coast in Asia, and a few of the islands, *Lemnos*, *Samothrace*, *Thasos*, *Imbros*, *Tenedos*, and *Lesbos*, while the Venetian republic and the barons of France were to share the rest under the suzerainty of the Empire. Every feudatory had himself to find the means of conquering the Grecian territory assigned to him. Thus, the treaty could only be executed in part, as many barons were unable to put themselves in possession of their portion. The powerful and crafty Venetians, however, began immediately to occupy the islands and to purchase entire provinces at the cheapest cost. From the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat they purchased the island of Crete; they abandoned the maxims of their suspicious government, and permitted their nobles to fit out expeditions and make conquests among the Greek islands, with the single obligation of rendering homage to Saint Mark.

tion of Isaac. Conspiracy of Mursuphlos. Division of the Empire among the crusaders.

12th April. General assault. The city stormed and taken from the galleys in the Golden Horn. Old Henry Dandolo on the walls. Twenty thousand Latin adventurers overpower a population of five hundred thousand Greeks. Conflagration and spoliation of the imperial city. New division of the Empire. Count Baldwin of Flanders chosen Emperor.

A. D. 1205.—15th April. Battle of Adrianople. Baldwin defeated and captured by the Bulgarians. See for these extraordinary events, Gibbon, chap. LX LXI, and Raumer's *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit.* Vol. III. pages 40–98.

Thus, within a few years, Venice formed a chain of factories and castle on the islands along the coast from Dalmatia to the Hellespont and Bosphorus. But the Greek nation, though betrayed by their princes and borne down by the impetuous bravery of the fierce crusading adventurers of the West, soon recovered from their dismay. Theodore Lascaris maintained himself at Brusa in *Bithynia*, and fixed the residence of his Greek empire at *Nicæa*. Alexis and David Comneni held *Paphlagonia* and *Pontus*, where they established the small but vigorous state of *Trebizond;* while Michael Angelos lifted his banner in Arta as Greek *Despot* or Ruler of *Epirus* and *Etolia*. Thus, surrounded by enemies and weakened by the insubordination and open feuds of its haughty feudatories, the Empire of Romania, without union, talent, or vitality, became the very caricature of feudality; like that of Jerusalem, suffering from its origin an infirmity and wretchedness which caused its early destruction. The geographical division of the Empire, however, becomes an important fact in the history of the middle ages on account of the many independent states which formed themselves in Greece and on the islands, of the rapid development of eastern commerce and colonization by the Venetian and Genoese republics, and the formation of the Comnenian Empire of Trebizond, which, under the most extraordinary vicissitudes maintained its independence, though bordering on Mongols and Turks, for two centuries, and outlived even Constantinople herself.

352. THE EMPIRE OF ROMANIA AND ITS FEUDAL DEPENDENCIES.

I. THE CROWNLANDS embraced Thrace as far north as Adrianople and Agathopolis on the coast of the Black Sea, and west as far as the river Strymon. North of this line the Bulgarians were in open rebellion, having called John Asan or Johanitza to the throne of the New Bulgarian kingdom. In the East the Latin Empire extended along the coast of the Hellespont. through part of Bithynia to the river Sangarios,

together with the islands Prokonnesos, Lesbos, Chios, Lemnos, Skyros, and several smaller islands in the Ægean.

353. CONSTANTINOPLE had suffered dreadfully during the siege. The crusaders having set fire to some houses, the conflagration spread with rapidity, traversed the whole breadth of the city from the port of the Golden Horn (7) to the Propontis, and laid every building in ashes for the distance of a mile and a half. The wealthiest quarter, including the richest warehouses and the most splendid palaces of the Byzantine nobility, filled with works of art, oriental manufactures, and classic manuscripts, was destroyed. During the assault, the Venetians, to protect their advance into the city, laid waste the whole quarter extending from the hill of Blachernæ to the monastery of the Evergetes and the quarter of Devteron. The cathedral of Santa Sophia, the noblest church in Christendom, narrowly escaped the flames, but was stripped of all its rich ornaments by the sacrilegious hands of the crusaders.[153] The Latin clergy, of course, eagerly joined in plundering relics from the altars, and they made as little scruple in desecrating Byzantine churches and monasteries as the most licentious among the warriors. The handsomer palaces were taken possession of by the chiefs; the emperor himself occupied the magnificent church and convent of the Pantokrator, and the Venetians fortified themselves permanently in Galatá, on the north of the port. So miserable a government as that of the six Latin emperors of Constantinople could not last. On the 25th of July, 1261, Alexius Strategopulos, the general of Michael Palaeologus, the emperor of Nicæa, was secretly in-

[153] Nicetas, the Byzantine historian, recounts with grief and indignation the desecration of the sanctuary, so venerable in the eyes of the Greeks, by the orgies of the northern warriors and their female companions, and how "one of these priestesses of Satan" seated herself on the patriarchal throne, sang ribald songs through her nose, in imitation of the Greek sacred music, and then danced up and down before the high altar. This gives us an idea of the sufferings and humiliations of the wretched Greeks.

troduced into the city through a subterranean passage; the Golden Gate was then opened, and when the trumpets sounded the alarm, the Greek inhabitants flew to arms, expelled the Latin emperor Baldwin II. with his patriarch, prelates, and knights, and restored the city and the imperial crown to their native prince. ADRIANOPLE, on the *Hebrus* (Maritza), where Baldwin I. was defeated and captured by the Bulgarians in 1205. *Tzurulum*, *Byzia*, *Tymotikon*, *Ainon*, *Philippopolis*, *Mosynopolis*, and *Rhodostos*, were the most remarkable cities in Thrace during this period.

VIII. KINGDOM OF SALONIKI.

354. II. The province of THESSALONICA (Saloniki) had, together with Greece, been awarded to the warlike Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, with the royal title. It comprised the greater part of ancient Macedonia, and Boniface carried his victorious arms into Greece, where he every where divided the conquered territories among his knights; but having perished in a skirmish with the Bulgarians, in 1207, his kingdom was invaded by the Greek despot, Theodore of Epirus, who was received with open arms by the Greeks, and crowned emperor at Thessalonica in 1222. This feudal state bore within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The Lombard warriors, by whom it was founded, were less able than the subtle Venetians in securing their conquests. They remained strangers in the country, garrisoning the fortresses and living on the industry of the Greeks, taking no measures to occupy and cultivate the soil. They were, therefore, easily expelled.

IX. THE DUCHY OF ATHENS, 1205–1456.

355. III. EXTENT, DYNASTY, AND MANNERS.—Attica and Bœotia were for ever separated from the Byzantine Empire; they fell to the share of the Burgundian nobleman, Otho de la Roche, who accompanied the Marquis of Montferrat on

his expedition to Greece. The family de la Roche [154] held likewise Corinth and Argos as tenures of the principality of the Morea. Otho had the title of Grand Sire—Μέγας Κύριος—and his successor Guy de la Roche obtained from Saint Louis of France the ducal dignity in 1254. In this period, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the Chronicles give us lively and interesting details of the flourishing condition of Athens and almost every part of Greece. The Latin Archbishop of Athens ruled over fifteen suffragans, among whom were the Bishops of *Thebes*, *Thermopylæ*, and the islands of *Euboea*, *Aegina*, *Keos*, and *Skyros*. Latin churches and convents arose, the ruins and inscriptions of which are still extant. The Counts of *Soula* (Salona) in Phocis, of *Bodonitza* in Locris, and the Lords of Euboea, together with a thousand French barons and their vassals, followed the ducal banner, while the Greek levies formed the light-armed infantry or *archery* of the time. The dukes resided either at Athens or in the strong and beautiful castle of *Saint Omer* (Santomeri) at Thebes.[155] Their court vied in splendor with those of Western Europe. At the magnificent tournaments which the dukes frequently held in the plain of Athens or at Thebes,

[154] Otho de la Roche, Grand Sire, 1205–1225. Guy I. de Ray, Duke of Athens, 1225–1264. John, son of Guy, 1264–1275. William, brother of John, 1275–1290. Guy II., son of William, 1290–1308. The duchy then passed to a cousin of Guy II., Walter de Brienne, who soon after (1311) fell in the battle on the Cephissus against the Grand Company of the Catalans.

[155] The high Gothic tower on the western ascent of the Acropolis at Athens was erected by Otho, or by his successor Guy de la Roche; the ducal palace extended along the Propylœa eastward to the Erechtheion, where its vaulted prisons still can be seen. The late lamented J. A. Buchon discovered in 1841 the sepulchral vault of the dukes in the ruinous convent of *Daphni*, at a distance of six miles from Athens, on the Sacred Road to Eleusis. Two sarcophagi were found in the sepulchral chamber of the interior narthex of the church, the one of which by its sculptured escutcheon, the cross with the fleur-de-lis in the upper corners of the cross, was proved to have been that of Duke Guy de la Roche.

princes, knights and minstrels met from the most distant countries. Both the prelates and the respectable classes of the Greeks appeared at these festivals, and all were the guests of the liberal dukes. Many brave but indigent knights who came to Athens to make their fortune, were hospitably received and their service rewarded with military commands, estates, and the fair hand of some noble lady; nay, the Duke Guy II. himself condescended to receive the accolade from Sir Boniface of Verona, a brave Italian knight at a tournament near Thebes. Even the humble squires, minstrels and *jongleurs* were not forgotten, and it is curious to observe in the old records the gifts and largesses distributed among "*les ménestreux et jongleurs*" of the ducal court at Athens. Numerous towers and castles rose all over the country; many of them are still seen, and some even in so good a state of preservation that they served the Greeks as strongholds in the late war of independence against the Ottomans. Such are, for instance, the castles of *Erimokastro*, *Koroneia*, *Livadia*, *Bodonitza*, *Patrachik*, *Lamia*, and the larger fortresses of *Oreos*, *Chalkis*, *Destos*, and *Karystos* in Eubœa. The proud French barons chose their brides among the high-born maidens of France; and the Catalonian chronicler, Ramon Muntaner, who visited Athens at that time, says, "that the French barons formed the noblest chivalry in the world, and that the French tongue was spoken at Athens with as much grace and elegance as at Paris itself." The cities of Greece were large and wealthy—the country thickly covered with villages, of which the ruins may still be traced in spots affording no indications of ancient Hellenic sites. Aqueducts and cisterns then gave fertility to land unproductive at the present day; olive, almond, and fig trees, intermingled with vineyards and orchards, covered ground now reduced, by want of irrigation, to yield only scanty pasturage to flocks of nomade Wallachians. The Valonia oak, the cotton, the silk and leather of Attica, then supplied native manufactories, and the surplus commanded high prices in the European markets. The trade of Athens was considerable,

and the condition of the Greek subjects of the dukes less oppressed than at subsequent periods. Civilization had there penetrated deeper into the social relations than in other parts of Europe. Otho de la Roche secured to the Greeks of Athens all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Byzantine government, with much greater freedom from financial oppression. The feudal conquerors of Greece soon perceived that it was greatly for their interest to respect the terms of the capitulations concluded with their Greek subjects, and to gain their good will. The grand feudatories found in the Greeks useful allies in opposing the exorbitant pretensions of their own immediate vassals and military followers, and in restraining the avarice of the Latin clergy, the ambition of the pope, and the pretensions of the Emperor of Romania. The peculiar condition of the Greek landed proprietors taught their princes the necessity of alleviating the natural severity of the feudal system and modifying the contempt it inculcated for the industrious and unwarlike classes of society. The high value of some of the productions of Greece, before the discovery of America and the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, placed the landed proprietors of Attica and Bœotia in receipt of considerable money-revenues. They were enabled to pay their dukes an amount of taxation which many monarchs in Western Europe were unable to extract from numerous cities and burghs, whose trade depended on slow and expensive land-communications, and from cultivators without capital, who raised little but grain and cattle. An alliance of interest was thus formed between the Frankish princes and their Greek subjects; the taxes paid by the latter supplied their sovereign with the means of hiring more obedient military followers than the array of the vassals of the fiefs. It became consequently an object of importance to the Frankish barons in Greece to protect the natives as allodial proprietors, or, at least, as holding their lands directly from the prince, on payment of a money-rent corresponding to the amount of taxation they had previously paid to the Byzantine Empire, instead of distributing

the land among the invaders as military fiefs. Interest, therefore, preserved to the Greek proprietors the richest portions of the conquered territory in the immediate vicinity of the towns; while the crusaders generally received the territorial domains, for which they were bound to pay personal military service, in the more distant valleys and retired districts—a fact which is still proved by the existing divisions of property and by the ruins of the feudal strongholds on the frontiers. Out of this state of things there can be no doubt that a constant struggle arose between the dukes, who desired to extend their authority and increase their revenues—the Frankish military vassals, who demanded the complete division of the whole conquered country, in order to increase the numbers and power of their own class—and the Greeks, who labored and intrigued to defend their possessions and maintain the capitulations. To the existence of this struggle for a long period, without any party venturing openly to disregard the principles of justice and the force of public opinion, we must in a great measure attribute the prosperous state of Athens and Thebes, under the government of the house of de la Roche and the long duration of the Frankish domination in Attica.[156]

X. Principality of Achaia and the Morea.

356. IV. Conquest and Constitution. The peninsula of Peloponnesus or the Morea had, in the general partition of the empire (349), been assigned to Robert de Champlitte, Count of Dijon in Burgundy, who, with the assistance of Geoffrey de Villehardoin and a large body of knights and men-at-arms, soon took possession of the greater part of the open country. Five thousand Greeks, consisting of the armed citizens of the towns of Lacedæmon, Veligosti, and Nikli, and the Sclavonian mountaineers, the Melingi, on Mount Taygetus (196), attempted to make a stand near the olive-grove of *Koundoura*, in the Messenian

[156] See Colonel Finlay's Mediæval Greece (from which these interesting details are taken), Edinburgh, 1851, pages 153–169.

plain, but they were immediately ridden down and dispersed, the cities of *Patrae*, *Andravida*, *Koron*, *Kalamata*, and *Arkadia*, surrendered, and the Burgundian conqueror was proclaimed Prince of the Morea in the subjected districts. The conquest became the more easy since the Byzantine nobles, the archons and the priests crowded around the crusaders in order to obtain terms for themselves and preserve their estates and churches, thus abandoning the mixed Grecian and Sclavonian population to their fate. William de Champlitte held in 1205 a general diet at Andravida in Elis, where a highly remarkable constitution was drawn up, similar to the Doomsday book of William the Conqueror in England (291), and the feudal code or assize of Jerusalem (346) adopted as the fundamental law of the principality. According to this charter of Andravida, the entire Peloponnesus (though hardly one-third part of the peninsula had yet been conquered) was divided into twelve great baronies, seven bishoprics, and three commanderies of the military orders of the Temple, of Saint John, and of Saint Mary (the Teutonic knights), which were assigned to the chiefs, prelates, and knights of the expedition, with rich allotments for churches and convents. Each barony and bishopric was subdivided into a certain number of knights' fiefs, in all 138. The barons, the military orders, and the church, held their possessions by feudal tenure, and were bound to keep their rear-vassals armed in the field for the prosecution of the conquest. A large number of single knights' fiefs and sergeants' lands were likewise distributed among the troops, who were all bound to personal service. Domains were assigned to the Prince, and Andravida, situated in the Elian plain, and protected by the strong fortresses of *Glarenza*, *Castro-Tornese*, and *Belvoir*, became the new capital of the Franks.

The Greek archons seem to have been admitted at the diets as representatives of the city population, to secure the observance of the capitulations and watch over the interests of the conquered nation. But they gradually lost both in possessions and influence, and were thus punished for their want

of patriotism and bravery, while the Greek clergy were now to witness, with horror, the introduction of the Latin rites and worship, the canonical law and the sovereign dominion of the Pope of Rome.[157] The conduct of the Latin clergy was uncharitable and rapacious. The Pope himself was obliged to interfere to save the poor Greek bishops from being expelled from their episcopal sees; nay, the violent conduct of the ecclesiastical fortune-hunters who flocked to Greece, compelled the barons to become the defenders of their Greek subjects, and the enemies of clerical abuses.

Only the western portion of the peninsula had been subdued by Count Robert de Champlitte. On his return to France soon after the diet of Andravida, his bailiff, the brave and intelligent Geoffrey Villehardoin, extended the Frankish dominion over all Arcadia and Laconia, and succeeded, by his popularity and valor, no less than by his duplicity and fraud, in obtaining the hereditary sovereignty of the entire principality of the Morea.[158] His able successors, with the assistance of Venetian fleets, occupied the strong Byzantine fortresses of *Argos*, *Nauplion*, *Corinth*, and *Monembasia* on the coast,

[157] This was indeed an astonishing victory of the proud, heartless Innocent III., over the Greek Church. By this unjust and sacrilegious conquest of Constantinople and Greece, the Pope extended the Roman Catholic sway over *thirty-two* archiepiscopal provinces, with more than *one hundred and twenty* new bishoprics and numberless monasteries and missions. But the triumph of arrogant Rome was not of long duration.

[158] The dynasty of Villehardoin possessed the principality of Achaia and Morea for longer than a century. William de Champlitte, 1205-1210. Geoffrey I., Villehardoin, 1210–1218. Geoffrey II., 1218–1246. William Villehardoin (Kalamatis, younger son of Geoffrey I.), 1246–1277. Isabella, 1277–1311. Maud of Hainault, 1311–1317. The fraud by which Geoffrey I. obtained the sovereignty of the Morea is pleasantly told in the modern Greek poem *on the conquests of the Franks in the Morea*, published in Greek and French by Buchon. Paris, 1840. See likewise Buchon's *Histoire des Conquêtes et de l'établissement des Français dans les états de l'ancienne Grèce sous les Villehardoin*, Paris, 1846, Vol. I., pages 179–184; and our third article *on Sparta and the Dorians* in the New-York Quarterly, Vol. III., No. 1, for October, 1854.

and they thus found themselves, in 1250, in quiet possession of that magnificent country.

357. FEUDAL DIVISION OF THE PRINCIPALITY.—I. BARONIES.—The twelve great Barons (Bannerets) were those of *Kalamáta*, *Akova*, *Karítena*, *Patras*, *Vostitza*, *Chalandritza*, *Kalávrita*, *Niklí*, *Veligostí*, *Grítzena*, *Geráki and Pássava*, in all containing ninety-four knights' fiefs. II. The ECCLESIASTICAL POSSESSIONS belonged to the Archbishop of Patras as primate of the principality, and his six suffragans, the bishops of *Olenos* or *Andravida*, *Modon*, *Coron*, *Veligostí*, *Niklí* and *Lacedæmon*, containing thirty-two knights' fiefs; and III., the three COMMANDERIES of the military orders of the Hospital of Saint John, in Jerusalem, the Temple, and St. Mary, with twelve knights' fiefs.

358. CITIES, CASTLES, AND HISTORICAL SITES.—*Andravida*, in the fertile plain of the Peneios, in Elis, was the capital of the Princes of the Morea, where they held their diets and high courts of justice. It is now a large, populous village, with well furnished markets; above the low houses rise the lofty columns of the Gothic Churches of Santa Sophia, and St. Stephen. The third ruinous church of this period is that of Saint James, which belonged to the Knights Templars, and contained the sepulchral vaults of the Villehardoin dynasty. *Glarenza*, on the coast, was the port of Andravida, as Kyllene, in the same situation, had been of the ancient Hellenic city of Elis. *Castro Tornese*, or Chlomutzi, a strong fortress on the promontory of Chelonatas, where the princes had established their mint and treasury. Some of the most important baronial castles of the Frankish feudatories, were early built in strong and commanding positions, whence they could control the Greek and Sclavonian population in the valleys around. Such were *Akova*, called *Mate-Grifon*, or Stop-Greek, on a precipitous ridge, south of the river Ladon. Akova still presents some beautiful ruins, with walls and towers, near the village *Vytitza*. On the east the access was guarded by another castle, *Galatá*. The barony of Akova,

the first in rank and importance, embraced the valleys of the Ladon and the Alpheus, and kept in check the Sclavonians of Skorta (Gortys), in the high ranges of the Arkadian Mountains. The barony became celebrated during the reign of William of Villehardoin, by a lawsuit, in which that prince, in 1270, before the high feudal court at Andravida, defrauded the orphan maiden, Margaret of Neuilly, of the inheritance of her uncle, Walter de Rossières, baron of Akova. *Karitena*, on a high precipitous mountain, commanding the upper valley of the Alpheus, and the plain of Megalopolis, in Arkadia, was the seat of one of the bravest and most turbulent knights. The walls with gate and towers are still standing, and the view from the battlements is magnificent. Karitena was the birthplace of the late Kolokotronis.[159] *Veligosti*, on the site of the present Leondari, protected the roads from Messenia and Sparta to Megalopolis and Tegea. *Gratzina*, *Androussa*, and *Kalamata*, secured the fertile plains of Messenia. The latter fortress, situated at the foot of Mount Taygetus, near the Messenian gulf, was the hereditary fief of the Villehardoins; William, called Kalamatas, the third Prince of Morea, was born and died there in 1277. The strong castle of Pássava, on the Laconic gulf, was an advanced post, established in the heart of *Maina* (Mani), to tame the Greek mountaineers (196) of the wild and barren range that runs out into the sea, to the south of the highest summits of Taygetus. This important border-castle was intrusted to the Baron of Pássava, the hereditary marshal of Achaia, who held it occupied by a permanent body of troops. *Leftro* (Leuctron), on the Messenian gulf, and *Mani*, near the Tænarian promontory, were

[159] On aperçoit de loin l'Alphée et le château de Caritena, fief du chevaleresque baron de Caritena, assis sur la montagne comme une couronne de comte, avec ses créneaux pour fleurons. Ce château a un aspect fier et féodal; il a conservé jusbu'à ces derniers temps la renommé de sa force; car Ibrahim-Pashá n'a pas osé entreprendre d'y attaquer Colocotroni qui s'y était réfugié. Buchon: *Grèce Continentale et la Morée;* Paris, 1844; pages 476, 477.

castles built in 1248, by William Villehardoin, to complete the subjection of the Maniotes. Thus cut off from all communication with their brethren, the Tzakonians, on the eastern range of Mount Malea, and with the Sclavonian Melingi and Ezeritae of the Laconian valley, by the garrisons of the three fortresses, and by the galleys of the Prince, and exposed to starvation on their barren rocks, the Maniotes submitted to the Frankish dominion; they offered to pay tribute and to furnish a contingent of light-armed troops; but they demanded and obtained exemption from the feudal service, and it was stipulated that no Frankish barony should be established within their limits.

The crusaders, on their first advance into Laconia in 1210, had met with serious resistance at *Lacedæmon*, the populous and strongly fortified Byzantine city, situate near the Eurotas, on the site of the ancient Doric Sparta. After the most violent assaults during five days, the French knights at last broke into the city, sword in hand, and the humane Geoffrey of Villehardoin, the bailiff of the principality, had some difficulty in putting a stop to the slaughter of the brave and unhappy citizens.

Struck with the beauty of the scenery and the strength of the position, William of Villehardoin, the third Prince of Morea, some years later (1248), after the complete subjugation of the peninsula, chose his residence in the neighborhood of Sparta, on a high rock in the most picturesque situation, at the base of Mount Taygetus. There he built a large and strong castle, with all the gothic magnificence of turretted walls, extensive courts, and a high central fortress *donjon* (keep), where he took up his permanent habitation. It was called *Misithra*, or Mistrás, by the Greeks, who, following the example of their sovereign, removed from the low hills of old Sparta, and built their new central city around the protecting castle of Mistras. From the precipices and deep chasms of Mount Taygetus, several copious springs descend toward the plain, where they irrigate the orange and lemon gardens,

the olive and mulberry groves, for miles extending through the valley of the Eurotas, and render *the hollow Laconia* one of the most beautiful and fertile regions in Greece.[160] *Modon* (Methone), in Southern Messenia, belonged to Venice, according to the treaty of Constantinople, and William of Villehardoin ceded *Coron*, on the Messenian gulf, to those grasping republicans on their furnishing him with four war-galleys to support the siege of Nauplion and Monembasia, the only maritime cities still in the hands of the Greeks. Their surrender, and the submission of the mountaineers, completed the final conquest of all Peloponnesus by the Franks, in 1248. At that period, William of Villehardoin was the most respected and powerful prince in the East. He not only possessed with sovereign sway the Peninsula, but on the north, the Duke of Athens, by the cession of Argos, Nauplia and Corinth, acknowledged himself his liegeman, while the Count of Bodonitza at Thermopylæ, and the feudatories of Eubœa, followed his banner, and the Duke of Naxos, with his fleet, protected the Ægean and the coasts of Morea from the piracies of the Turks. Order and tranquillity reigned in the interior of his fertile and beautiful dominions. The Greeks were busily occupied with their commerce and agriculture; the Sclavonians of Skorta and Sclavochori were pacified and taken into pay by government. The French barons and knights, comfortably established in their castles beneath the beautiful sky of Greece, soon found there a new and pleasant home,

[160] After the defeat and capture of William Villehardoin, at Perlepi, in Macedonia, in 1259, and the surrender of Laconia to Michael Palæologus, Mistras became the seat of the renewed Greek government in the Morea, and several beautiful Byzantine churches and convents built at that time, attest to the tasteful architecture of the Greeks, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the wealth and importance of Mistras, the residence of the Palæologian princes, or *Despots* of the Morea. In 1837, while some repairs were undertaken in the French castle, a complete suit of armor with iron greaves, and a knight's helmet, was discovered, which was presented by the modern Spartans to King Otho, during a subsequent visit of the Royal Couple to the city.

which made them even so far forget the old that they called themselves after the Greek names of their estates; thus, for instance, Hugh de Brienne became Lord of Caritena, Robert de Tremouille, Lord of Chalandritza; Ralph, Lord of Kalavryta; John, Lord of Passava, and so others. Geoffrey II. married Agnes, the daughter of the Latin Emperor, Peter of Courtenay, and the barons imitating the example of their sovereign, sent to France for their brides, sisters and families, and soon old Peloponnesus became so changed that it was called "*la jeune France.*" Not only the French crusaders found a new field for activity in the East; even the Greeks themselves began to take up chivalrous habits; they became familiar with French minstrelsy, they tuned their harps to the songs of daring deeds, and lady-love, and their chroniclers sang in artless but spirited verses the wars of the crusaders in the Morea.

The prosperous state of the French principality in the Peninsula was, however, of short duration. The feudal system, and the warlike manners of western Europe, could not strike deep roots in the East. Without the slightest knowledge of the classical antiquity of Greece, or any sympathy for its modern Greco-Sclavonian population, the Latin barons considered the country as a conquest, which could only be maintained by dint of the sword; while the Greeks, oppressed by the continual civil feuds of their masters, soon discovered the real weakness of the foreign government, and turned their hopes towards the rising Empire of Nicæa. Some few Romanic elements had penetrated the mixed population of Morea, and the Moreotes had taken a tincture of the civilization of the Franks; but it soon disappeared during the storms of the Turkish wars, and thus the ruinous castles, the popular traditions, and a few chronicles and dialectical forms in the modern Greek language, are at present the only relics that have survived the conquests of the crusaders in Greece.

William of Villehardoin imprudently joined the Despot of Epirus, Michael II., in his war against the Greek Emperor

of Nicæa. With his whole feudal force he entered the highlands of Macedonia, where, abandoned by the Epirote and his light-footed Albanians, the French chivalry was surrounded by the Greek army of Michael VIII. Palæologus, and his allies the Kumans, and suffered a total defeat in the defiles of *Perlepi* (Prilapon). The Prince of Morea fled in disguise, but being captured at Castoria, was carried in triumph to Nicæa, and could only obtain his release by surrendering three of the most important fortresses of his principality—Monembasia, Misithra, and Maina—into the hands of the Emperor Michael, who, in the mean time had reconquered Constantinople, and put an end to the Frankish Empire of Romania. As soon as the Imperial standard appeared on the coast of Morea, the Greeks arose against their foreign masters, and though the knights defended every inch of ground with the most exalted valor, and often routed the disorderly bands of the Greeks, they could not defend their isolated castles in so mountainous a region, and were driven into the western and northern parts of the Peninsula. There, in the plain of Elis, and in the strongholds of Achaia and Argolis, they still maintained themselves under the suzerainty of the Kings of Naples during the fourteenth century, until the Osmanli Turks, in the fifteenth, put an end to their dominion in the Morea.[161]

XI. Oriental Conquests of Venice.

359. Extent and Organization of her Colonies.—Towards the middle of the thirteenth century the Venetian Republic (272–323) had extended her conquests in the Archi-

[161] *History of the Morea during the Middle Ages*, by Prof. Falmerayer, Vol II., and the admirable sketch of the Frankish dominion in the Peninsula, by Prof. Ernst Curtius, in his *Peloponnesos*, Vol. I., Gotha, 1851. Important hints and topographical descriptions are likewise found in Dr. Louis Ross's *Reisen und Reiserouten im Peloponnes*, Berlin, 1841.

pelago, and possessed the following colonies and territories:—I. A fortified quarter in the city of CONSTANTINOPLE, with the suburbs of Pera and Galatá on the northern shore of the Golden Horn.[162] II. The Duchy of KALLIPOLIS, comprising the Thracian Chersonese, with the cities of *Kallipolis*, *Rhodostos*, *Herakleia*, and several ports on the opposite coast of Asia Minor. III. The southwestern district of the PELOPONNESUS, with the strongly-fortified cities of *Koron* and *Modon*. IV. The Duchy of CRETE (Candia), with the cities of *Canea*, *Rettimo*, *Candia*, *Sfakia*, and *Mirabella* on the coast, and *San Bonifazio* in the interior. This splendid isl and had been purchased of the Marquis of Montferrat, and became an important settlement for the Venetian nobility. The rich lands were divided into one hundred and thirty-two knights' fiefs, and four hundred and eight sergeants' tenures, all held with military tenure. The Venetian *Nobili* formed the High Council, at the head of which stood the Captain-General of the army. V. The County of NEGROPONTE (island of Eubœa), with the strong fortress of *Chalkis* on the strait of *Euripos*—opposite to Bœotia, and the cities of *Oreós*, *Astura* and *Karystos*. Under the government of Negroponte ranged the smaller islands *Skyros*, *Skiathos*, *Skopelos*, *Chelidromi*, *Keos* (Zia), on the southern coast of Attica, together with *Ægina* and *Salamis* in the Saronic Gulf, and *Cerigo* (Cythere) under the frowning promontory of Cape Malea, in the Morea.[163]

[162] This important central emporium for their commerce the Venetians lost, when, in 1261, Michael Palaeologus, with the aid of the Genoese, expelled the Franks from Constantinople, and granted to that hated rival of Venice the ports and privileges which she formerly had possessed in Thrace.

[163] The smaller isles *Poros* (Kalauria), *Idra* (Hydrea), and *Spetza* (Typarenos), under the coast of Argolis, seem not to have been permanently occupied by the Venetians. They served as a refuge to the *Albanians* (Arnauts), when their country, after the death of George Castriotis, was invaded by Mohammed II., in 1470. See the *Memoir on Hydra*, by Antonios Miaulis, Munich, 1834 (in modern Greek).

At the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Venetian Republic was not populous and strong enough to take possession of the numerous islands which had been assigned to it in the partition of the Greek Empire. The Senate, therefore, permitted the Venetian nobles to fit out expeditions for the occupation of the islands, reserving only the sovereignty to the mother state. In consequence of this permission many maritime expeditions took place; thus *Stampalia* was occupied by the Quirini; *Andros*, by Marino Dandolo; *Tinos*, *Mykoni*, *Skyros*, *Lemnos*, *Chios* and *Samos*, by the Ghisi; *Keos*, by Giustiniani; but the most brilliant conquest was that of the *Cycladian Islands*, by the distinguished nobleman Mark Sanudo, in 1207, who, as Duke of the Archipelago, soon became independent of the Republic of Saint Mark.

360. The Ionian Islands belonged during this period to small dynasties of Frankish nobles, who had sprung up during the crusades, and claimed the protection either of the Kings of Naples or the Despots of Epirus. *Zante* (the ancient Zakynthos), *Cephalonia*, *Itaka*, and *Santa Maura* (Leukadia), were, during the fourteenth century, held by the Beneventine family of Tocco, which, by marriage into the Greek dynasty of Arta, had inherited Akarnania, Ætolia, and part of southern Epirus, and called themselves *Dukes of Leukadia and Despots of Arta*. Charles Tocco was the last despot; the Turks drove him from Ioánnina and Ætolia in 1431, and his son, Leonardo II., lost Leukadia and Cephalonia in 1469. Corfú (Corcyra), the most important of the Ionian Islands, both on account of its fertility and position at the mouth of the Adriatic Gulf, remained long under the supremacy of the Kings of Naples, until it, in 1386, was conquered by the Venetians.

XII. Duchy of Naxos or of the Archipelago, 1207–1566.

361. Extent, Constitution and Dynasties.—The easy conquest of Naxos by Mark Sanudo and his Venetian adventurers in 1207 was followed by that of the other Cycladian islands. *Paros*, *Antiparos*, *Amorgos*, *Siphnos*, *Kimolos*, *Milos*, *Polikandros*, *Nio*, *Santorini* (Thera), and *Anaphi* recognized his sway and were distributed as fiefs among his knights. Naxos, the gem of the Grecian islands, became the ducal residence; the opposite Paros, with its excellent harbors of *Santa Maria* and of *Parecchiá*, was the naval station for his galley fleet. In Naxos the active and intelligent Mark Sanudo built a magnificent castle, with twelve strong towers, on the high hill above the Greek metropolis on the northwestern coast. The natives obtained favorable terms from their conqueror; he guaranteed them the possession of their property and lands, and they continued to enjoy their privileges and the exercise of the Grecian rites of their Church. Sanudo received the ducal title from the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, which he left, together with his consolidated and beautiful duchy, to his successors, in 1220.[164]

It would appear strange that the reviving Greek Empire of the Palaeologi, who reconquered the greater part of Greece from the Franks and Asia Minor from the Turks, should have permitted the Dukes of Naxos to sit quietly on their usurped throne of the Ægean islands; yet we can discover the cause of this remarkable longevity of the Frankish principality, not only

[164] Six dukes of the family Sanudo followed until 1307. The family Dalle Carceri from Negroponte then inherited the duchy by marriage. But the third duke, Niccoló Dalle Carceri, lost the duchy and his life in revenge of a terrible crime he had committed on an innocent Greek maiden. The Greek Archons, led on by the intriguing nobleman Francesco Crispo, surprised and stabbed the duke at his hunting castle, *Paratrecho*, in 1381, and the third dynasty of the Crispi maintained their independence until the Turkish conquest in 1566.

in the great talents and native valor of the dukes of the families of Sanudo and Dalle Carceri, but likewise in the powerful protection awarded them by the Pope, and the Venetian Republic, who with her fleets sustained the monopoly of her eastern commerce for two centuries victoriously against Genoese, Greeks, and Turks.[165]

XIII. Possessions of the Military Order of the Hospital of Saint John, 1310–1522.

362. Conquests.—The Mamlukes of Egypt having obtained possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291, the Knights of Saint John sought a refuge in Cyprus, where the Knights Templars already had large estates and castles; and King Henry II. of Lusignan now likewise invested the former with the town and castle of Limisso (348). Yet the enterprising warriors, less corrupted than the Templars, who at that time returned to Europe only to meet destruction, sought a new sphere of activity by the conquest of Rhodes in 1310. That delightful island had remained in the possession of the Genoese family of Gavala during the thirteenth century, and then devolved on the Greek Emperors of Constantinople. But during the weak and turbulent reign of Andronicus the Younger, Turkish and Arab corsairs from the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria had established themselves on the island, united with the Greek inhabitants, and extended their piratical expeditions over the adjacent islands of the Ægean. Thus the Knights Hospitallers found it easy, with the support of the Pope, to assemble a large crusading army of German and Italian warriors at Brindisi, whom they transported to the East on a Neapolitan fleet. The Crusaders united with the Knights of Saint John, and, defeating the Saracens on the sea, landed suddenly at Rhodes. They then stormed gallantly its strongly fortified capital under the command of the Grand Master Fulco de Villaret, and carried it, sword in hand, on the day

[165] Colonel Finlay's *Mediæval Greece and Trebizond*, pp. 420–50.

of the Virgin—August 15th, 1310. *Lindos* and the other cities in the island surrendered; but it was not until after an obstinate warfare of four years, that the order could extend its dominion over the surrounding group of smaller isles, *Syme*, *Chalkis*, *Lero*, *Nisyros*, *Kalymnos*, *Kos*, and the fortress of *Budrun* (Halicarnassus) on the mainland of Caria. The knights of Rhodes held likewise the fortress *Ak-Liman* and the island of *Daran* on the coast of Isauria, and their castles in *Cyprus*, which they furnished with garrisons, and defended gloriously against the attacks of the Ottoman Turks, for more than two centuries remaining the bulwark of Christendom in the Levant.[166]

These were the States of LATIN ORGANIZATION which arose in the East during the period of the crusades. The Latin empire of Romania, the kingdoms of Thessalonica and Jerusalem, and the principalities of Antioch, Edessa and Tripolis, were short-lived, and perished during the thirteenth century.

Of the rest, the kingdom of Armenia and the principality of Achaia (Morea) became extinct in the following century, and only the states under Venetian protection and the duchy of Athens survived the destruction of the Byzantine empire in 1453.

B. MOHAMMEDAN AND SLAVO-GRECIAN STATES DURING THE CRUSADES.

363. GENERAL REMARKS.—We shall here give a glance at the Mohammedan, Grecian, and Slavonian States which rose in the East during the Crusades and on the expulsion of the Latins from their short-lived conquest. These were seven, viz.: I. The State of the *Assassins*. II. The Empire of the *Eyubids* and the *Baharid* Mamlukes in Syria and Egypt.

[166] See the description of all those islands in Prof. Louis Ross's *Inselreisen*, Tübingen, 1840–50, Vol. I.–V. (we quote from memory); and for the conquest of Rhodes our articles, *A day on Rhodes*, in the New-York Knickerbocker, October and November, 1846.

III. The Kingdom of *Bulgaria.* IV. The Kingdom of *Servia.* V. The renewed *Byzantine Empire* of *Nicæa* and *Constantinople.* VI. The Despotat of *Epirus.* VII. Duchy of Great Wallachia. VIII. The Comnenian Empire of *Trebizond.*

I. State of the Assassins.

364. Origin, Organization and Extent.—The enthusiasm of the crusaders was met in the East by a similar excitement, which gave birth to societies formed in the spirit of Mohammedanism, and springing directly from the desire of sustaining the cause of Allah and his prophet by the extreme of religious fanaticism. Hassan-Ben-Sahab is the mysterious reformer—*dai*—of Islam. He appeared on Mount Lebanon after the middle of the eleventh century, preaching the reform with extraordinary eloquence; but his fiery ambition urged him forward beyond the bounds of his mission. As the Imam of Mohammed, he proclaimed the second advent of the Prophet; he enraptured the masses with his vehement exhortations of the austerest observances of Islamism; he formed a bodyguard of *Fedavies* or initiated in the mysteries of the advent, and occupied Alamut, in the mountains of Dilem. Urged on by his ambition, he boldly changed the creed, and proclaimed that "*There was no God but God, and that Hassan was the Prophet of God,*" and at the head of thousands of fanatical followers built up his empire extending from the frontiers of Persia to the coast of the Mediterranean. Yet it was not a state with a united territory. It was only an order of fanatics called *Hatsheshim*, or as the crusaders pronounced it, *Assassins*, who, from their numerous strongholds all along the mountains, obeyed the commands of the terrible Prophet, the *Sheik al Djebal*, the Ancient of the Mountain, and kept the people in the most fearful subjection to his invisible power. Hassan, in his snow-white caftan and turban, the emblem of purity, was the grand master of his order of Saracen Knights or Fedavies, who, under

their three *Dais al-Kebir*,[167] or grand priors, were trained to the most extraordinary obedience and self-sacrifice. Fearful, almost incredible, were the secret murders of the devoted Assassins. The ministers, the viziers in Bagdad, in Cairo, the chieftains in the mountains, the Kaliphs, the Sultans surrounded by their courtiers and life-guards,—Count Raymond II. of Toulouse before Tripolis in 1151—the Marquis Conrad of Montferrat in Acre in 1192, several kings, distinguished prelates, and knights—not only in Palestine, but even in Europe—fell beneath the dagger or by the poison of the invisible Old Man of the Mountain. The terror was so great that every demand of the mysterious chief was immediately complied with, for the secret members of this Mohammedan Temple were every where. Their principal castles were *Alamut* or Vulture's Nest, situated to the north of Casbin on the frontier mountains of Dilem, the seat of the *Old Man*. *Rudbar* on the west, and *Lamsir* and *Kirdkuh* on the northeast of Alamut, were impregnable fortresses, held by the fanatics. *Tabsin* (Tubbus), *Tun* and *Kanain*, Assassin castles of Kuhistan in Persia, secured his influence in the east, while the fortresses of *Shadeir* (Schadiz), near Ispahan, *Dirkul* and *Kalendshan*, farther south, extended his authority toward the

[167] Malek-Shah, the Sultan of Mossoul, astonished at this far-spreading heresy, marched his army against Hassan and sent his envoy to the castle of Alamut to enforce submission. The old Sheik of the Mountains, surrounded by his Assassins, received the Turk, and beckoning one of his followers said: "Stab thyself,"—and to another: "Throw thyself down from the battlements"—and before the words were pronounced his disciples had obeyed him and lay expiring—the one at the feet of the Turk—the other, lacerated at the bottom of the precipice! not only as willing but as joyful martyrs to their faith. The terrible old man then turned to the trembling envoy: "Go tell thy master what thou hast seen, and add, that seventy thousand heroes like these obey my nod." The Sultan still advanced, but on seeing, the next morning, a mysterious dagger sticking in his pillow, in the most retired part of his tent, he became so frightened that he ordered the retreat of his army, and left the old monster of the mountain to himself.

west. Thus a chain of strongholds brought the Sheik in communication with his most important possessions, those of the district of the Ismaelites (279) on Mount Lebanon between the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripolis. Here the treacherous Assassins or Ismaelites possessed the castles of *Masyad*, *Kehef*, *Kadmus* and *Szafita*, in the highest range of the mountain, and the still more important *Balanea*, *Banias* (Valenia) on the sea-coast, which in its strong position among precipitous rocks cut off the communication between the Christian States. At Alamut and Masyad were the luxuriant gardens concealed by high walls, where the young fedavies, intoxicated with *hashish*,[168] were carried to taste the joys of paradise (as they were made to believe), and were thus rendered willing to encounter death in order to secure a permanent seat in that abode of bliss. Under the Sheik stood, 1st, the three *Dais al-Kebir* (grand priors of the order); 2d, the *Dais* or initiated masters; 3d, the *Refeeks*, or companions; 4th, the *Fedavies*, or devoted; 5th, the *Laseeks*, aspirants or novices, and lastly the multitude of the profane people. The fundamental maxim of the creed, which separated the secret doctrines of the initiated Assassins from the austere public tenets of the mass of the common people, was most carefully preserved, and the people were held to the strictest injunctions of the Koran. The East did not detect the motive power of the Assassins' Chief; the trembling multitudes only saw the poniard strike those who had offended the Envoy of the invisible *Imam* himself, the forerunner of the Great Prophet, who was expected to arrive in power and glory to assert his dominion on earth. The eastern branch of the Assassins was destroyed by the Mongols during the invasion of Hulagu in 1258. In Syria they continued to alarm the crusaders for fourteen years longer, until their strongholds, Masyad and Banias, were besieged and taken by Bibars, the Mamluke Sultan of Egypt, and the rest of the Assassins fled into the higher ranges of the mountain, where they

[168] Hashish was an intoxicating beverage distilled from linseed.

still possess a mystical religion and live under the name of the *Ismailiyeh*.

II. Empire of the Eyubids and Mamluke Sultans.

365. Extent and Dynasties.—The great Salah-ed-Din, the son of Eyub (1137–1192), laid in 1174 the foundation of the vast empire of the Eyubids, on the ruins of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The pious and generous Sultan discovered that the Christian fanaticism could only be vanquished by a similar enthusiasm among the Mohammedans. But his chivalrous heart despised the dagger of the Assassins, and he joyfully brandished the scimetar of the Mamluke. Both Turks and Arabs had become degenerated; they could no longer resist the flower of European chivalry. It was the hardy sons of Mount Caucasus and of Koordistan, who, by a particular drill, were to form the strength of his army. Carried away from their home in tender age by Syrian merchants, the young Circassians were trained to arms under the proud name of *Mamluke*. Without relatives or a native country they formed the body-guard of their chief, with the brightest hopes of rank and advancement; they mounted the fleetest steeds of Arabia; the finest armor, the best tempered weapons adorned their handsome persons, and beneath their yellow standards the Mamlukes became the most formidable cavalry of Eastern warfare. At the head of these troops Salah-ed-Din extended his empire from the frontiers of Armenia along the Euphrates to Arabia, Egypt and westward along the sea-coast to Barka, on the outskirts of the Libyan desert. *Damascus* was his capital, and there he died in 1192.[169] His vast dominions

[169] The sepulchral monument of Salah-ed-Din, forms a large irregular building of white and black marble, with many cupolas and lofty arched windows covered with gilt inscriptions. It stands in the *Derwish* street, on the caravan route to Jerusalem and Mecca; but though it is still devoutly visited by the Moslem pilgrims it is rapidly falling in ruins. See our articles "*An Excursion to Damascus and Baalbek*," in the American Review for August and September, 1848.

were again divided, and underwent many revolutions, until the revolt of the Baharid Mamlukes against the last Eyubid Sultan, in 1250, brought the power into the hands of these wild and homeless warriors. Sultan Bibars reconquered Antioch, Tripolis, and the greater part of Syria, in 1260–1277, and Sultan Chalil (1290–1294) expelled the Christians from their last possessions in Acre, Beïrut and Tyre. Thus began in the East the long, barbarous, and lawless rule of the Caucasian adventurers; Syria and Palestine were totally devastated, the Christian monuments burned and destroyed, and misery brought over the decimated population, while Egypt became prosperous by her manufactures and commerce. Sultan Kelawun concluded treaties of commerce with Aragon and Venice in 1289. The Genoese had their consuls and emporium in Alexandria. Egyptian industry consisted principally in paper, carpets, and excellent linen. Agriculture was flourishing and occupied three hundred thousand *fellahs* (peasants).

The Mamlukes did not degenerate; new bands of gallant youths from Mount Caucasus replenished their numbers every year; they formed a military aristocracy, whose chiefs were the counsellors of the Sultan and his vizier; the *great Kadi* administered justice, assisted by the kadis of the principal sects, who all united in electing the Sultan. The revolutions of the throne were frequent; seldom did a son follow his father, generally the handsomest or the bravest of the Mamluke cavaliers; their life was entirely military; they lived merrily on the fat of the land, without any foreign war until the storm of the Mongol invasion of Tamerlane in 1400, and the reduction of Egypt, by Sultan Selim and his Osmanli Turks, in 1517.

366. Divisions, Cities, and Historical Places.—Egypt—*Missr*—performed an important part during the crusades. The Kings of Jerusalem were alternately enemies or allies of the Fatimid Kaliphs against the Turks; and it was in the luxury and voluptuousness of Cairo, that the Templars, during the cam-

paign of King Amalric, for the first time laid aside the austerity of their deportment, and contracted those eastern vices which later, fostered within their convent walls, caused the accusation and destruction of their order. By the general ignorance of geography in that time, the most exaggerated accounts of the wealth and splendor of the *Great Soldan of Babylon* (the Kaliph of Cairo), and the fertility of Babylonia or Egypt, were circulated throughout Europe, and gave rise to those ill-planned expeditions of the Hungarians in 1218, and of Saint Louis in 1248, which terminated in the destruction of thousands of brave but ignorant Christian warriors. Egypt was then divided into, I. MISSR DAKHILIAT, Inner or Upper Egypt, with the cities, *Kosus*, *Ashmuni*, *Dendera*, *Esneh*, *Assuan*, and *Koseir*, on the coast of the Red Sea; II. RIF, or Middle Egypt, with KÁHIRA—the Victorious—*Cairo*, or *Babylon*, on the eastern bank of the Nile, the capital of the Kaliphs and Eyubid Sultans; *Menf* (Memphis), *Bulak*, *Belbeis*, and *Ain-Shames* (Heliopolis), where the crusaders, as auxiliaries of the Kaliph, in a brisk battle, for the first time crossed swords with the brilliant young Salah-ed-Din and the Koordish warriors, the Mamlukes; III. DSCHUF—GARBIEH, the *Delta*, or Lower Egypt, surrounded by the three branches of the Nile and the Mediterranean. On the coast were situated the thriving cities, *Scanderoon* (Alexandria), *Rashid* (Rosetta), and *Damanhur*, on the Alexandrian canal. Eastward, on the *Fatimetic* branch of the Nile, and the *Bahr Tenis* (Lake of Menzaleh), lay the celebrated *Damiat* (Damietta), the bulwark of Egypt, a mile from the sea-coast. The city was then the great emporium of Eastern traffic, with splendid mosques, rich bazaars, and a numerous population. It was surrounded by triple walls, and towers of great strength. Other towers in the river defended the approach from the Nile. Yet the valor and enthusiasm of the Christians vanquished all these obstacles, and the desperate resistance of the Saracens. Damietta was taken, after a siege of seventeen months, in 1219, and an immense booty made; but

it was soon lost again by the arrogance of the Cardinal Pelagius and the superior tactics of Sultan Melik Khamel, who totally destroyed or captured the Christian army among the swamps of Mansourah, and forced them to purchase their release by the surrender of Damietta and the evacuation of Egypt. The same fate awaited Saint Louis, of France, and his brilliant army, in 1248; and the unhappy city, after so many vicissitudes, was finally razed by the Mamlukes for fear of a third invasion, in 1250.[170]

III. Wallacho-Bulgarian Kingdom.

367. Extent, Constitution, and Cities. During the revolutions of the Byzantine Empire, under the Angeli, the Bulgarians threw off the yoke in 1186, and sustained their independence for two centuries, until they, together with their neighbors the Servians, were defeated by Sultan Murad at Kossowa, in 1389, and became incorporated in the Turkish empire in 1392. The Wallacho-Bulgarian kingdom extended along the Danube, from the shores of the Black Sea westward to the river Timok, and was on the south bordered by Mount Hæmus. The principal cities were: Ternowa (situated on a hill, surrounded by gardens, on the banks of the river Jantra, the residence of the Bulgarian kings, and the see of the primate of the Latin church), *Nicopolis*, *Bidin* (Widdin), *Dristra* (Silistria), on the Danube, *Varna* and *Salata* on the Pontus, and *Triaditza* (Sofiá), beneath the celebrated defile, *Clausura Sancti Basilii*, on Mount Hæmus. The Bulgarians extended their sway south of that mountain, along the river Hebrus, but without permanent possession. The Khans obtained the royal title from the Pope, yet their power was restricted by the council of the *Boyars* or nobles. Diets,

[170] The modern city lies several miles in the interior. For these events, see the graphic description of the sieges in Michaud's *Histoire des Croisades*, livres XII. and XIII., and Mills, pages 197–218, in the Philadelphia edition.

comitia, were held; the country was divided into thirty *Starosties*, each defended by fortresses and castles. While the Bulgarians followed the Greek Church they had a patriarch and ten bishops; later, when they passed over to the Latin ritual, their Primas resided in *Ternowa*, and their prelates received the *pallium* in Rome. Among the many heretical sects were the *Bogomiles*, the Beloved of God, whose doctrines spread through the West, where they were called *Bulgari* (Bougres). The laws of the Bulgarians were cruel, and their manners barbarous, though Christianity exerted its influence, and their kings, by frequent marriages with Byzantine princesses, became more polished and kept a brilliant court. The Bulgarians fought mostly on horseback (195), with bows and arrows, sabre and lance. Their banners were horse-tails fixed on spears, until the Pope gave them the Christian standard of the cross. They wore the flowing Eastern garments, and large turbans, and their general gatherings, headed by their Boyars, made a brilliant show. King Assan II. built a fleet on the Danube, which placed him in direct communication with the Russians. The Bulgarian merchants enjoyed peculiar privileges in Constantinople, where they had their own bazaars and dépôts. Some of their princes were men of learning. Alexander (1330–1353) published a Slavic translation of the Byzantine historian, Constantine Manasses, with elegant paintings; but the Boyars, with all their pomp and luxury, remained uninstructed, and the clergy only made much progress in learning.

IV. Kingdom of Servia.

368. The *Great Zupan* of Servia had received the royal crown from the Pope in 1222 (325), and ruled his spirited and handsome people, the Servians and Rascians (Raitzi), as an independent king or *Kral*. Servia contained, 1, *Branizowa*, on the Danube; 2, *Shupa*, on the east, in the valley of the Morava; 3, *Kossowa*, on the south, in the upper valley of Mount

Scardus; 4, *Rascia*, northwest, on the frontiers of *Bosnia* (Rama); and 5, *Zenta*, the coast-land on the Adriatic, from the Drinus and the Lake of Skodra, northward to the Republic of Ragusa. The brilliant period of the Servian nation, their conquests, political influence, laws, and poetry, was the middle of the fourteenth century, under their great king, Stephen Douschan (1333–1356). RASSA (Novi Bazar), at the foot of the Dinarian Alpes, was the residence of the Kral.

369. RAGUSA (139) in its advantageous position had become a thriving commercial republic, which under a strong aristocratic government already rivalled Venice in trade and manufactures; it possessed the Dalmatian and Bosnian mines, and its citizens were active, wealthy and chivalrous. *Ragusa* produced poets, engineers, painters and historians, and merited the title of the *Slavo-Illyrian Athens.*

V. THE GREEK EMPIRE OF NICÆA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

370. LIMITS, RESTORATION OF THE CAPITAL AND CONQUESTS.—Theodore Lascaris had saved the Greek Empire by hoisting his banner in Prusa as a rallying point for all the faithful. A victorious reign of eighteen years expanded his principality to the magnitude of an empire. Lascaris reconquered and united again *Bithynia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Ionia*, parts of *Phrygia*, *Caria* and *Paphlagonia*, together with the islands, *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, *Tenedos*, *Lesbos*, *Chios*, and *Samos*, from which he expelled the Ghisi, and other Venetian nobles. His successor, the admirable John Dukas Vatatzes (1222—1255), drove back the Turks and pressed hard upon the Latin Knights in Constantinople. That city fell at last in 1261, and Michael VIII. Palaeologus reunited, toward the close of the century, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and the southeastern parts of the Morea with the reviving Byzantine Empire.

371. Genoa, on the Ligurian coast, had in her rivalry with Venice given as strenous an aid to the Greek Emperor of Nicæa, as Venice had done to the Latin conquerors of Constantinople. Genoa therefore was rewarded by the Greek emperor with important privileges, exemption from duties, and the cession of the suburbs of Pera and Galatá, which were fortified by double lines of wall, and that high central tower which still forms so conspicuous an object in the scenery of Constantinople at the present day. Nay, the Genoese even took possession of every promontory on the Bosphorus, and thus sought to exclude their competitors from the commerce on the Black Sea. They occupied the eastern coast of the Crimea, where they fortified *Cafa*, *Chercz*, *Cherson*, *Bosphorus*, and *Cembalo*, and established their commercial dépôts in *Azow* at the mouth of the Don. Having by extraordinary exertions become the domineering nation on the Pontus, they began to arm for that tremendous maritime struggle with Venice, which from the year 1252 continued almost without interruption to 1382, and terminated only with the debilitation and decline of both. In the following century Genoa put herself into the possession of great part of the Asiatic islands of the Ægean, such as *Samos*, *Nicaria*, *Chios*, *Psara*, *Metellino* (Lesbos), *Stalimene* (Lemnos), *Imbros*, *Tenedos*, *Samothrace*, *Thasos*, and the smaller groups.

VI. Despotat of Epirus.

372. Extent and Princes.—The portions of the Byzantine Empire situated to the west of the range of Pindus, all Epirus, Acarnania and Ætolia, as well as Lower Macedonia and Thessaly (Megali-Vlachia), were saved from the feudal dominion by Greek princes, who there maintained themselves against the French Crusaders. Epirus was, immediately after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, occupied by the intelligent Michael Angelos, who, boldly assuming the direction of the government of the whole country from Dyrrachium to

Naupactus, on the Corinthian gulf, and gathering a large military force, secured the mountainous frontier against the Franks, and established his residence at Joánnina or Arta. The civil government of the Despot of Epirus was a continuation of the Byzantine forms. Michael ruled as of right inheriting the province; it was a mere change in the name of the government, not a revolution in the condition of the people. It was modified, however, by the military character of the wild Albanian Highlanders, who were taken in pay by the Despots, and now for the first time make their appearance on the world's stage as mercenary soldiers. The Despots extended their conquest to Thessalonica, where they easily defeated the Lombard feudatories of the Marquis of Montferrat, and obtained even the imperial title. This however was, later, given back to the great Vatatzes of Nicæa and the short-lived empire of Thessalonica ceased to exist in the year 1234. Epirus was divided in 1308; the greater part fell to the share of Thomas Tocco, Count Palatine of Cephalonia, and in 1358 King Stephen of Servia (364) succeeded in conquering all Epirus, Macedonia and part of Thessaly.

VII. Duchy of Great Wallachia.

373. Origin and Extent. The Duchy of Great Wallachia—Μεγάλη Βλαχία—or *Neo-Patras*, consisted of all Thessaly, Phthiotis, Doris, and part of Phocis. Its capital was Hypata—*Neai-Patrai* (Patrachik), in a strong position on the *Sperchius*. *Zeituni* (Lamia), on a spur of the Othrys, with a fortress still standing, though in ruins, protected the defile of *Andinitza* into Thessaly. *Armyros*, *Demetrias* (269) and *Volo*, were cities on the coast of the Pagasetic gulf; *Thaûmaka*, *Belestina*, *Férsala* (Pharsalus), *Larissa*, and *Trikke*, all situated in the fertile plain of the interior. *Metzovo*, on Mount Pindus, protected the passage into Epirus, and *Thalasona* that into Macedonia. This small duchy was founded by John Dukas, who

proved a traitor to his own brother, Michael II. of Epirus, and the Frankish Prince of the Morea, in the battle of Perlepi, 1259. At the head of his roving Wallachians this daring chief obtained full possession of Thessaly; he claimed entire independence, and stood at the time of his death, 1290, on equal terms both with the Greek Emperor and the French Princes in Greece. The Catalan Freebooters conquered the valley of Sperchius, which they united to the duchy of Athens; but Thessaly reverted to the Byzantine Empire, and was governed by imperial lieutenants, who afterwards were, by the emperor, honored with the title of Despots.

VIII. Comnenian Empire of Trebizond, 1204–1461.

374. Origin, Limits, Constitution, and Cities.—At the time of the downfall of the Comnenian family in Byzantium, in 1185, Thamar, a daughter of the tyrant Andronicus (349), saved two of his nephews, Alexius and David Comneni, and fled with the children to the coast of Colchis, in Pontus, on the Black Sea. There the young princes were hospitably received by the Greeks, and when, in 1204, the Byzantine Empire sank before the sword of the crusaders, Alexius Comnenus, then a handsome and spirited youth, at the head of his Colchian Greeks, conquered Trebizond, Sinope, and all the coast-lands of Paphlagonia, as far west as the Sangarius, and laid the foundation of the Comnenian Empire of Trebizond. This prosperity, however, did not last; Sinope was soon lost to the Sultan of Iconium, and the more distant conquests on the Sangarius, *Amastris*, *Tios*, and *Herakleia*, were reoccupied by the Palaeologi of Constantinople. The small Trebizontine State thus became circumscribed to the ancient Themes of Chaldia, Koloneia, and part of that of Armenia (264–266). *Trebizond* (Trapezus), on the coast, was the capital. In a magnificent situation, with a fertile country around, it wanted only a secure port to make it one of the greatest empo-

riums of eastern traffic.[171] Its exports consisted in the rich products and manufactures of Asia Minor, the copper of Tokat, the brilliant dye-stuffs of Caesarea, variegated carpets, cloth of hair and wool, which in the ships of the Italian Republics were conveyed to Alexandria, Marseilles, and Spain; and along the Danube, and to the Tauric Chersonesus, from whence they were transported by different routes through Russia and Germany to the north of Europe. The city of Trebizond, with its extensive suburbs, was strongly fortified by several impregnable castles, separated by deep ravines. The interior of the town was filled with palaces, public bazaars, the magnificent churches and convents *St. Eugenios*, the *Panaghia Chriso Kephalos*, and the great cathedral of *Santa Sophia*, in a delightful site on the sea-shore. A numerous population inhabited the city and the environs all along the coast, where Genoese, Pisans and Venetians had their magazines and commercial dépôts. On the eastern coast were situated the flourishing cities *Rhizaion*, *Athenai*, *Pyxites*, and *Sotiropolis*, at the foot of the Mingrelian mountains. The unruly Lazi, on the river Phasis, were subjects of the Comnonian Emperors, though they often rose in open rebellion. On the west lay the cities of *Kerasos* (23–226), *Tripolis*, *Ze-*

[171] The city has its name from the *trapezoid*, or tabular form of the rocky coast on which the first settlers had established themselves. "The southern shores of the Black Sea offer every advantage for maintaining a numerous population, and the physical configuration of the country supplies them with excellent natural barriers to defend them on every side. There are few spots on earth richer in picturesque beauty, or abounding in more luxuriant vegetation than the south-eastern coast of the Euxine. The magnificent country that extends from the mouth of the Halys to the snowy range of Mount Caucasus is formed of a singular union of rich plains, verdant hills, bold rocks, wooded mountains, primeval forests, and rapid streams. In this fertile and majestic region Trebizond has been for more than six centuries the noblest and finest city." See the detailed *History of the Trebizontine Emperors* in Prof. Fallmerayer, and the later work of Col. Finlay, page 354–498. The modern city has fifty thousand inhabitants.

phyrion, *Oinaion*, and *Amisos*. In the interior the realm extended over the rich plains of *Side*, *Themiskyre*, and *Mesochaldion*, southward to *Zigana*, *Pylai*, and the important pass of *Baiburd*, where the high mountain range of Paryades separated it from the territories of the Seldjukian Turks of Iconium. The Emirs of the Turkmans, the warlike tribes on Mount Caucasus, and the Greek Emperor, at Nicæa, were thus the natural enemies of the young Comnenian Dynasty, while, on the contrary, the crusading barons of Constantinople became its allies in their simultaneous efforts against Nicæa. The approaching invasion of the Mongols brought new dangers, yet, though both Andronicus I. and Johannes I. (1222–1238) were obliged alternately to seek the friendship of the Turkish Sultans or Mongol Great Khans, and even to pay tribute and render military service to the latter, yet, by their prudence, they escaped invasion, and being considered more as active chiefs of a mercantile establishment, than purple-born Princes of an Empire, they were enabled for nearly two centuries to maintain their independence, and to contribute their part to the peaceful extension of the world's commerce, and the civilization and happiness of their subjects, and the numerous Greek emigrants, who, driven from their European home by the advance of the Ottoman Turks, found a hospitable reception on the beautiful shores of Trebizond.

Such was the state of the *Eastern World* during the times of the crusades, when at the middle of the fourteenth century, the appearance of the Ottoman hordes in Europe brought on new geographical divisions of territory, and a change in the political relations of all the lands that came within the reach of their swords.

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